

THE ANDOVER REVIEW

VOLUME VII.—PUBLISHED MONTHLY.—NUMBER XL.

APRIL, 1887

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BOSTON
HOUGHTON, MIFFLIN AND COMPANY
NEW YORK: 11 EAST SEVENTEENTH STREET
The Riverside Press, Cambridge
LONDON: WARD, LOCK & CO., WARWICK HOUSE, SALISBURY SQUARE

Entered at the Post Office at Boston as second-class matter

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EGBERT C. SMYTH, WILLIAM J. TUCKER, J. W. CHURCHILL,
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coöperation and active support of their colleagues in the Faculty,
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VOL. VII. — APRIL, 1887. — No. XL.

THE GROWTH OF MODERN CITIES.

WHEN men affirm that history repeats itself, they utter only half a truth. The people of all times are so much alike, and similar situations recur so frequently, that nearly every present event may have some sort of parallel in the past; and yet the current of history is no tide sweeping perpetually up and down the same old channel, but, like some majestic river, it rolls forever onward. No age is a mere repetition of what has gone before it. The main features of each are new, unforeseen, and unparalleled. Greece was not another Egypt, nor Rome another Greece. The decay of the dominion of the Cæsars, the rise of Papacy, the conquests of the False Prophet, the Crusades, the founding of the Frankish Empire, the Reformation and Renaissance, the overthrow of feudalism and growth of constitutional liberty, — each of these great movements, with the events that cluster about it, has furnished in its turn a fresh chapter in the world's history quite unmatched by any which had preceded it.

So also is it with our own time. The world in which we live is not merely different from that our fathers knew. It is a world the like of which has never been known by any race of men in any age before. Upon the nineteenth century have fallen certain changes in the social and industrial conditions of mankind, of so great moment that in consequence of them all Christendom has been transformed, and the whole aspect of its society changed, with almost the swiftness of a revolution. These changes are conspicuously illustrated by the subject with which we deal in this article.

We live in the age of great cities. It began to be so named nearly half a century ago,¹ and every year since then has added

¹ *The Age of Great Cities.* Robert Vaughan, London, 1843.

fitness to the title. For size, for number, and for influence, the cities of our time have never been approached. Rome has always stood as the supreme example of the vast and mighty city. In Gibbon's day, the most populous of modern capitals had not equaled her. But the present Paris is probably much larger than she, the present London more than twice as large, and our own metropolis fully her equal.¹ And Rome stood alone in her greatness: she did not, like New York, for instance, have a Brooklyn close beside her, a Philadelphia two hours away, and sixty other towns of considerable size within a day's journey. The other large and flourishing cities in the empire were few and widely separated.

One of the chief reasons that used formerly to occasion the building of cities has disappeared: roving bands of robbers and savage beasts are no longer at large; throughout the civilized world life is as safe in the country as in the city. Security has ceased to be reckoned among the advantages of a city residence. Much of the loneliness and isolation that once belonged to the country home have also been removed. The extension of railway and telegraph lines, the widening circulation of papers and periodicals, the increased facilities of trade, and many other things, have combined to lessen the inconveniences of rural life and make it brighter and more attractive. Moreover, as men have grown in wisdom, their appreciation of natural beauty and the attractions of mountain, field, and forest have become keener. Nevertheless, each successive year finds a stronger and more irresistible current sweeping in toward the centres of life, a larger and larger proportion of the earth's inhabitants crowded together in the great cities, and a rural population always diminishing in relative size and influence.

The extent of this movement, and the suddenness with which it has sprung upon the nineteenth century, cannot be better illustrated than by a glance at the growth of the world's metropolis.

London is an ancient as well as a modern town; it seems to have had at least two thousand years of growth. In Tacitus' day it was already a thriving place, full of merchants and their wares.²

As the greatest of marts, and as capital and metropolis of one of

¹ See Gibbon, vol. iv., chap. 31; also notes in Smith's edition, p. 89, London, 1854. Gibbon estimates the population at 1,200,000; Dureau, 562,000; Zumpt, 2,000,000; Hoeck, 2,265,000; *Encyclopædia Britannica*, about 1,000,000.

² Tacitus, *Annal.*, lib. xiv., chap. 33.

the most remarkable of nations, it has for a thousand years held a high place among the chief cities of Christendom. So far as one can judge by old maps and pictures, and such obscure hints as the ancient annals give us, the growth of London from Roman times until the close of the last century, although very irregular, was most of the time exceedingly slow.¹

The London of three hundred years ago seems to have been considerably smaller than the present Boston; that of two hundred years ago, according to a somewhat careful computation, had reached 670,000 inhabitants,² which is less than the population claimed for Chicago. It took the great city another century to climb to a place equal to that of Philadelphia, and half a century more, bringing it down to 1836, did not make it equal to the present New York, if you include, with New York, Brooklyn and Jersey City. But in order to make a city equal in size to the London of to-day, you must pile together New York, Philadelphia, Brooklyn, Chicago, Boston, St. Louis, Baltimore, Cincinnati, and San Francisco.

There are in London — assuming the average annual rate of increase which prevailed between 1860 and 1880 to have continued since the last census — not less than 5,200,000 souls. By London I mean in every case what is called "Greater London," which consists of the metropolitan and city police districts, and extends twelve miles in all directions from Charing Cross.³ In the last hundred and twenty years preceding the year 1800, London increased in size only fifty per cent. In the eighty-five years since the year 1800, London has increased 500 per cent. More people live in London alone than in the whole of Holland; more than in Sweden; more than in Portugal; more than in Ireland or Canada; more by a million than in Scotland. She could furnish population for two countries like Denmark, and nearly enough for three like Norway. Three cities as large as the Greater London would be almost enough to people Spain, with its present popula-

¹ The old historians give widely-varying estimates, which are apparently little more than guesses. An estimate based on the bills of mortality, which first began to be kept at that time, would show a population of something more than 250,000 in the last decade of the sixteenth century. See discussion of the subject in Stow's *London*, also *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 9th ed., vol. xiv., p. 320.

² Sir William Petty, *Essay on Political Arithmetic*.

³ The exact figures of the census of 1881 are 4,766,661, and the average annual rate of increase between 1861 and 1881 is 2.39 per cent. Inner or registration London contains fewer people by 850,000. See *Census of England and Wales* for 1881, vol. iv., p. 13, London, 1883.

tion; six would be more than enough to people Italy; seven, nearly enough to people France; and eleven, to people the United States.

It is said that Macaulay, in his time, walked through every street of the metropolis. In order to accomplish that feat now, one would need to take a tramp of twenty-five hundred miles.

But London is by no means the only great English city. Huge as she is, she contains only one third of the city population of the island. There are in England and Wales alone twenty-seven other great cities, the smallest of which contains more than 75,000 inhabitants, whose size and sudden growth are not less astonishing than that of the metropolis itself.

There are more people by several hundreds of thousands within fifty miles of the central point of Manchester — which sits in the midst of the great towns of the north — than within the like distance of the central point of London.

In 1881 England and Wales had sixty per cent. of their entire population in towns and cities, and the rates of increase during the last two decades had been two and one half times greater for the town than for the rural population.

No more striking illustration of the centralizing tendencies of modern times can be found than that which Scotland presents. The country parts of that land contain absolutely fewer people to-day than ten years ago, especially the Highlands. Timid deer are now the only inhabitants of many a grassy glen that used to furnish, at the chieftain's summons, its quota of a thousand men; wild forest creatures are sporting in hundreds of deserted cots, amid the brown and purple hills and beside the silver lochs, which once were merry with the shouts of children. Across the Highlands, a broad belt of beauty, stretching from sea to sea, extend the hunting-grounds of the American millionaire, Mr. Winans: a modest little place for sport, comprising some eight hundred square miles. When land will bring ten times as great a rent for deer-park as for agriculture or pasturage,¹ is it a wonder that the crofters have to leave their homes to the foxes? For every acre of mountain land employed in deer-forest in 1840, there are at least ten in the present year. In this way the strength of nearly 2,000,000 acres or 3,000 square miles of Scottish soil is consumed to-day.²

¹ J. Allanson Picton, *The Crofters' Cry for More Land*, *Contem. Rev.*, Nov., 1885, p. 646.

² Mr. Cameron of Lochiel, *A Defence of Deer Forests*, *Nineteenth Century*, Aug., 1885, p. 197.

Meanwhile, Scotland has as many sons and daughters as ever. Her population has been steadily increasing since the beginning of the century, at the average rate of about eleven per cent. with each decade; but all this increase, and more than all, has poured itself into the cities. The country people are but a remnant. Three Scotchmen out of every four live in some city. The Glasgow among whose masses Chalmers labored with such power and effect contained only about 150,000 inhabitants. To-day, resounding with the roar of wheels and hammers, and dim in the smoke of countless chimneys, Glasgow strides on towards her million at a rate of increase which outstrips that of Chicago itself.¹ The laddies and lassies of song and fiction may still be tending sheep amid the mountain heather and making love in fields of rustling rye, but the laddies and lassies of fact are toiling in shops, factories, and noisy dock-yards, and when they meet and greet, it is by gaslight among the mighty throngs of Argyle Street and Trongate.

"While a few Scotchmen have castles and palaces, more than one third of all Scottish families live in one room each, and more than two thirds in not more than two rooms each.² Thousands of acres are kept as a playground for strangers, while the masses have not enough of their native soil to grow a flower, are shut out even from moor and mountain, dare not take a trout from a loch or a salmon from a stream."³

Ireland exhibits the preference of the folk of modern times for city residences in the opposite way. For many years the Emerald Isle has been gradually losing her people, owing chiefly to the drainage of emigration; but it appears that for every two who have left the towns ninety-eight have left her rural districts.

Cross the channel, and in every European state which has felt the breath of the spirit of modern times, the same social tendencies are to be observed. On all sides cities are growing rapidly, while the population of country parts is increasing very slowly, — is at a stand-still, or is even decreasing. Brussels has gained twenty per cent. and Antwerp thirty per cent., while Belgium, as a whole, has gained but eleven per cent. During the last decade, the rate of increase for the towns and cities in Denmark has been nearly

¹ The increase of Glasgow between 1871 and 1881 amounted to 41.25 per cent., that of Chicago, 40.78 per cent.

² This statement, while literally true in 1870, was not quite true in 1880 — the condition of things having somewhat improved.

³ Henry George, *The Reduction to Iniquity, Nineteenth Century*, July, 1884, p. 146.

twice as great as that for the rural districts. In Sweden it has been four times as great; in Norway ten times as great. The four chief cities of Russia have doubled themselves within twenty years. The town population in Germany is growing about twice as rapidly as the whole population of the empire. The last census shows that there are actually fewer people in the rural parts of Prussia than ten years ago, but the cities are greater by twenty-five per cent. In 1850 Berlin was a comparatively insignificant place with about 400,000 inhabitants; she now ranks as third or fourth city in the world, and boasts a population of 1,316,382. The same tendency is strikingly illustrated in France. For many years her population has been almost stationary, and, much of the time, even declining; yet, in the mean time, except for a brief period of interruption during the Franco-Prussian war, the French cities have steadily and rapidly increased in size and number. In 1846, out of every hundred Frenchmen, only 24 lived in the city; in 1861, there were 29; in 1881, 34. Since the war, up to 1881, Paris added to her number 50,000 souls for every year.¹ The same movement of the people might be noted in Austria, Italy, Switzerland, and Holland, as well as Canada and Australia. Nowhere is it more remarkably displayed than in our own country. It is not so surprising that men are crowded into the cities in Germany, which has 213 persons for every square mile of territory; or in England, which has 472; or in Belgium, which has 510; but cities increase in the same remarkable fashion in the United States, where we have less than 20 persons to the square mile, not including Alaska,² and there are still scores of millions of acres to be given away.

The facts concerning the growth of American cities as reported by the census of 1880 have been widely circulated of late, especially in the invaluable book of Dr. Strong;³ but they will bear repeating. In 1790 one thirtieth of our population lived in cities of 8,000 inhabitants and over. In 1800 the proportion of urban population had become one twenty-fifth; in 1820 it was one twentieth; in 1830, one sixteenth; in 1840, one twelfth; in 1850, one eighth; in 1860, one sixth; in 1870, one fifth; in 1880, nearly one

¹ Since 1881 her ratio of increase seems to have been much slower. The growth of Paris and of all French and Italian cities is hindered by "octroi duties," or taxes on all provisions brought into the town: an arrangement which renders living much more costly within than outside the walls.

² In 1881, it was 17.29, or, including Alaska and Indian Territory, 14.5 persons to the square mile.

³ Josiah Strong, D. D., *Our Country*, New York, 1886.

fourth, that is, 22.5 per cent.; from 1790 to 1880 the population of the country increased twelve-fold, that of the cities eighty-six-fold. In 1800, there were only six cities of over 6,000 inhabitants; in 1880 there were two hundred and eighty-six.¹

A recent writer² has given a most ingenious illustration of the change in the distribution of men which the latter-day life has brought about. He calls attention to the fact that the area of England and Wales is the same as that of New York and New Jersey; that the population of England and Wales in 1688 was nearly the same as that of New York and New Jersey in 1870. You have, then, two districts of practically the same size inhabited by the same number of people of the same blood and language. The one belongs to the seventeenth, the other to the nineteenth century. The district of the seventeenth century had for 5,500,000 people only five cities with a population greater than 10,000. The district of the nineteenth century has thirty-one such cities. Of the seventeenth-century folk less than one fourth, of the nineteenth-century folk more than one half, are dwellers in great towns.

Such illustrations might be multiplied to any extent; but quite enough has been presented to establish the fact that during the present century a wonderful movement has passed over the face of the whole civilized world, suddenly shifting great sections of the people from the country to the towns, thereby changing the problems of life in manifold ways, giving to the cities of the present, and still more promising to those of the future, a prominence in the world's affairs hitherto unknown. Let us now examine the causes from which this movement has sprung.

That mysterious force named gravity, which gives to all bodies mutual tendencies towards each other, varying according to their masses, has a parallel in human society. A man, as a man, has a peculiar attractiveness to every other man. The attractive power of a group of men is greater than that of an individual; and the larger the group, the greater the mass of human life, the stronger is its influence in drawing outsiders to itself and in holding those who have come to it. As a race we love not solitude, but there is built into us a fondness and a strong necessity for fellowship with our kind; for since thought is awakened by thought alone, love by love, and passion by passion, the mind depends upon contact with other minds, not only for its exercise, growth, and enjoy-

¹ See *Tenth Census of the United States*, vol. i., pp. 28-30.

² B. C. Magie, Jr., *Scribner's Magazine*, vol. xv.

ment, but even for life. What food is to the body, that intercourse with other minds is to the mind of man, with the difference that the mental appetite is insatiable, and grows with feeding. There is, therefore, nothing more natural in the craving which drives the wild creature forth to its hunting-ground than in the social instinct which draws men into the currents and centres of life. This universal force of human attraction, like the force of gravitation, is, of course, frequently modified and even nullified in its action by other forces. Race and family affinities bind one more firmly to his kith and kin than to others. Peculiarities of taste and temperament lead some to love solitude and hate society, and make certain sides of human nature particularly interesting to certain persons, and others distasteful. In some the manhood is of a fuller, higher type than in others, and they are correspondingly more attractive; while from many, vice, poverty, and oppression have so beaten humanity out that little remains to invite the fellowship of men. Yet all these disturbing influences do not, on the whole, affect the operation of the great law, that man attracts man; and that the greater the mass of humanity gathered about a centre, the more powerful upon the average outsider is the force of its attraction.

Every town and city is therefore a magnet constantly drawing the people from without towards itself, and binding together those within its walls with a power directly proportionate to its size. The magnetic influence of a great metropolis becomes so potent that multitudes find it too strong to be resisted. Thousands every year force their way into the midst of London, Paris, and New York, having no reasonable prospect of winning a livelihood, and insist upon staying there in miserable want rather than move out to more comfortable quarters elsewhere. The very vastness of the manifold life that throbs and thrills about them has a certain subtle fascination so intoxicating that they regard the idea of living in any lesser place as quite insupportable. Juvenal shows that old Rome bewitched her populace by the same powerful spell. They used to pay for little, dark, wretched rooms a yearly rent great enough to have purchased a cheerful, comfortable dwelling in one of the lesser towns of Italy; but they could not be prevailed upon to leave the capital.¹

In a great city every man finds in its highest development the side and sort of life that pleases him best. For the vicious, there are unbounded opportunities for vice; for those who love God and

¹ See Juvenal, *Satir.*, 166, 223, etc.

men, extraordinary advantages for philanthropic work and Christian fellowship. Many with special musical, literary, or artistic talents are quite alone in a small community, with neither opportunity or stimulus for growth in the directions towards which their tastes incline them; but upon entering a city they find surroundings so congenial that they can never again be persuaded to quit them. Great cities have a special fascination for young men. They offer, to the successful, high and tempting prizes. There is little in the position of leading merchant, lawyer, or physician in a country town to spur the ambition of the young, but those who hold the like positions in the cities are the princes and mighty men of the times. Ambitious fellows prefer a hard race with high stakes to one on an easier course with fewer competitors and contemptible prizes. Hence, they have flocked to the cities until a new attorney's sign has become a by-word, and a single advertisement for a bookkeeper enough to bring an army about your door. Besides all the special attractions for special classes, who can measure the fascination, for the masses of mankind, of the great city's unequaled facilities for instruction and amusement? The churches and the schools, the theatres and concerts, the lectures, fairs, exhibitions, and galleries, — how widely on every side are the doors of life opened! Even the streets and the shops are an attraction that few can deny. But above and beyond all this is that vague delight at being one in the midst of a great multitude of men and women, which, though it may not often be defined or expressed, is the greatest of all the causes which contribute to the cities' growth.

Such tendencies would draw the whole world into cities, — into one great city, perhaps, — were it not for the existence of certain opposite tendencies — centrifugal forces, as one may call them — which counterbalance the centripetal force and preserve the equilibrium of society. While on the one hand city life is richer than rural, on the other it is more costly and less salubrious. It is more costly because food, fuel, and every needful product of the soil must be produced by others and brought from afar; because competition for the land is great and rent high; because, the cost of living being great, personal service is correspondingly costly. City life is less healthful than rural, because of the difficulty in getting a good and sufficient supply of the four things on which life chiefly depends: food, water, air, and light. Many must go with an insufficient quantity of food because of its costliness; and that they have, being the cheapest, is often unwholesome. Water

is difficult to get, and unless brought from afar at great expense, is almost sure to be tainted with impurity. In closely-crowded quarters filth quickly accumulates, and cleanliness can only be secured by eternal vigilance. No art has been discovered by which the air of a great town can be kept free from the disease germs and poisonous vapors that reek from noisome places. Where thousands of furnaces are pouring their foul breath out into the sky, and where hundreds of thousands of human beings are always robbing the air of its vitality, a far less wholesome atmosphere necessarily prevails than on the mountain side or by the sea; sickness comes on more easily and is harder to throw off. All these difficulties obviously bear most heavily upon the poorer classes. The tattered fringe which hangs upon the border of the social fabric is broadest in cities. That portion of the people comprising the poorest, the weakest, and the most helpless, which is being gradually crowded to the wall and crushed amid the strife and struggle of the strong, is found largely — in some countries almost wholly — in the towns.

Such, then, are the practical checks upon the growth of cities. They can increase no faster than the costliness of living and wholesomeness of life within their walls allow. The great cities of antiquity were always so situated that they could obtain a plenty of cheap food. Rome was able to rival the populousness of modern capitals because she had peculiar advantages for feeding the multitude. She was rich. The treasures of the whole earth flowed into her lap. She could afford to buy the best from all the markets in the world. The great food-producing countries were close at hand, clustered about the Mediterranean, in the midst of which she sat, accessible on every side by land and sea. Bread was cheap in Rome: sometimes it was even free to the poor. Nor was the vastness of the population which she found it possible to sustain less due to the fact that she was able to make life supportable and even healthful within her walls. The system of aqueducts, sewers, and public baths, by which she secured to her citizens good sanitary conditions, has never since been approached in magnificence, costliness, and efficiency. The following, therefore, may be laid down as the law of the growth of cities.

The urban population in every country is always as large as its circumstances allow. When a city's increase is not checked by the superior attractiveness of some rival, it will grow until it reaches a point where life within its walls becomes so difficult, because of extreme costliness or unwholesomeness or both, that it is no longer to be preferred to life without.

If we now turn our attention towards London again and follow its lines back into the past, we shall see abundant evidence that at every step of its history the population has been as great as could be sustained under existing circumstances, with a continual tendency to overstep the limits of possible crowding, a transgression followed by great misery, hunger, and disease, which at frequent intervals have broken out into violent forms of plague and famine.

Famines used to be among the regular features of London life in the olden time. They were often accompanied by a degree of distress for which we, in our day, have no parallel. We read, for example, of a great famine brought on by a wet season in the year 1257, when 20,000 people starved to death in London. Only thirteen years later there came another still more dreadful dearth. Wheat sold at six pounds eight shillings the quarter (which is more than sixty pounds at present), and the famine was so horrible that parents are reported to have eaten their own children.¹ The reasons for the latter dearth are thus explained: "By excessive rains, the banks of the Thames overflowed and broke down in many places, by which accident immense injury was done to houses, lands, and fruits of the earth." It is, at first sight, incredible that a mere wet season should ever have occasioned the starvation of every seventh man in London, or that a freshet of the Thames should have driven the famishing poor in the frenzy of hunger to the point of devouring their own offspring. Yet it must be remembered that in those days London had almost no food except what grew in the fields immediately about her. When these failed to yield their harvest, starvation was at hand. Four hundred years later it was still true that the hay, straw, peas, beans, and oats used in London were principally raised within a circuit of twenty miles of the metropolis. The extreme difficulty of bringing food from the interior will be seen at once when it is remembered that everything had to be carried on pack-horses over roads so narrow that two could not go abreast on one of them, and incredibly rough and difficult.² A curious light is thrown upon the condition of the old English roads by the recorded facts that during the civil war eight hundred horses were captured while sticking in the mud. Only a century ago, the cost of freight between London and Birmingham was £5 a ton, having fallen less than £2 a ton in a hundred years. At the same time, the rate between London and Leeds was £13 a ton.³ It is

¹ Northouck's *History of London*, pp. 50 and 56. London, 1773.

² See Smiles's *Lives of the Engineers*, vol. i., p. 177. London, 1861.

³ *A History of Inland Navigation*, p. 73. London, 1769.

instructive to notice the extreme fluctuation in the cost of provisions in London. The price of wheat would frequently be twice as great one winter as the next. In times of famine it would rise to incredible figures. All this meant a hard and doubtful fight for life on the part of the humbler class of citizens.

But the sufferings of London from pestilence have been even greater than those from famine. It took her centuries to learn the simplest laws of health. Her water-supply used to be drawn from wells in the city, which were, of course, defiled by impurities; and even when she introduced waterworks, the water was pumped up from the river by tide-wheels at London Bridge, where it was anything but pure. There was no sewerage worthy of the name; the streets were not paved until the seventeenth century, and filth was allowed to accumulate in them until, in many portions, they were higher than the ground floor of the houses, from whose lower rooms the drippings of the roadway were with difficulty excluded.¹ Under such circumstances, it is no wonder that the death-rate was always fearfully heavy, and that epidemics of disease frequently prevailed.

Small-pox was an inveterate enemy of the London folk. It used to destroy, upon an average, one life out of every seven.² There was also a dreadful sweating-sickness, as it was called, which visited London repeatedly in the sixteenth century and destroyed thousands of people. But the worst of all was that loathsome and terrible disease called "the plague," which every few years stole upon the unfortunate city like some savage monster creeping up out of the deep and snatched away thousands of her children. In the seventeenth century London alone was afflicted by no less than four visitations of this dread pestilence.³ On the first occasion, six thousand citizens perished; on the second, above thirty-five thousand victims were swept away. There were eight deaths to one birth in London that year. Only eleven years later ten thousand more were carried off by the same foe, and, in the memorable year 1665, the great plague, like the horror of a great darkness, settled down upon London and smote the people until her crowded homes were empty, her bustling streets and busy

¹ Erasmus gives a shocking picture of the ordinary artisans' habitations in his time. "They were filthy beyond description. . . . The floors were of loam strewn with rushes, which were constantly put on fresh without the removal of the old, and intermixed with bones, broken victuals, and dirt." Quoted by Loftie, *History of London*, vol. i., p. 354. London, 1883.

² Northouck, p. 136, note.

³ See Loftie, vol. i., p. 353.

marts desolate, and the number of the living seemed less than they that were dead.

So great was the hindrance to the city's growth caused by want and disease breaking out from time to time in these violent forms, that, up to the beginning of the present century, it does not seem to have increased, on the average, more than fifty per cent. for a century, or at the exceedingly slow rate of one half of one per cent. a year. Yet even that rate appeared too rapid. Queen Elizabeth issued two proclamations in which the inhabitants of London were forbidden to erect new buildings where none had existed before within the memory of man. It was said that extension of the metropolis would encourage the increase of the plague; would create trouble in governing such multitudes; would cause a dearth of victuals, a multiplying of beggars and inability to relieve them, and an increase of artisans more than could live together. Proclamations to the same intent were repeatedly issued by James I., Charles I., and Charles II., and even by Cromwell.¹

Thus it appears that the London of the past has been quite as monstrous, quite as unmanageable, quite as full of the poor, the sickly, and the starving, as the London of the present, and when her actual population was not one tenth of what it is, she was overcrowded even more than now. Had we time to examine the history of the people of Paris, Vienna, or Edinburgh, or any other of the older important cities of Europe, we should see the same thing. Until recent times, their increase has continually been checked and prevented by the battle with hunger and the ravages of disease, as well as by arbitrary enactments.

During the latter part of the eighteenth century, a new day in the world's history began to dawn, — the era of what has been termed "modern civilization." It was then that men first commenced in any considerable degree to reinforce themselves by "borrowing the might of the elements." The steam-engine had been partially invented for a century or more, but had been used only for pumping and as a scientific toy. James Watt made it of practical value and set it to work. In 1788 it was for the first time successfully harnessed to the wheels of a mill.² Close upon this followed that long series of mechanical inventions which have made steam-power serviceable in such an infinite variety of ways, revolutionizing the whole system of human industry. In the discovery

¹ These proclamations are still preserved in the library of the British Museum.

² Albion mill in London. See Smiles's *Lives of the Engineers*, vol. ii.

of the steam-engine, the mother of machines, may be found the central reason for the growth of our nineteenth-century cities.

This resulted, in the first place, from the increment that the steam-engine brought to the world's wealth. Work is the source of wealth. All work had hitherto been done and all wealth won by tedious process of manual labor; but here was a contrivance for converting heat into work. There was heat enough to be had; stored up in latent form, the bowels of the earth were black with it. The great invention, therefore, changing in magical fashion the cheap and grimy product of the mines into work and into wealth, was like a veritable philosopher's stone dropped down into the midst of the nations. What the fathers had gained slowly with hard toil and sweat of the face, the sons gained swiftly by the aid of steam, fierce furnaces bearing the heat, and sinews of steel the burden, of the day.

It is difficult to realize how rapidly the world has been growing rich during the present century. Mr. Gladstone estimates that the amount of wealth that could be handed down to posterity, produced during the first eighteen hundred years of the Christian era, was equaled by the production of the first fifty years of this century, and that an equal amount was produced in the twenty-five years from 1850 to 1875.¹

No doubt, as much more has been produced since 1875 if, as he further estimates, the manufacturing power of the world is doubled by the aid of machinery every seven years. Mr. Mulhall, by carefully-arranged statistics, has not only shown that the Queen's subjects are worth on the average some \$335 apiece more than they were thirty years ago, and, excluding Ireland, nearly twice as much as they were in Queen Anne's time, due allowance being made for the difference in the purchasing power of money, — but he has also exhibited the fact, that, as England's wealth has increased, its distribution among the people has become more general.² As for our own country, the last census informs us that between 1860 and 1880 the wealth of the United States increased three times as fast as its population, notwithstanding the waste of the war and the extinguishment of vast property by the liberation of the slaves.

The immediate result of such increase of wealth has been an extremely rapid growth of the world's population. Within a life-

¹ Quoted in *Our Country*, p. 115.

² Paper on *The Increase of the National Wealth since the Time of the Stuarts*, read at the British Association, Sept. 24, 1883.

time, the inhabitants of the civilized world have doubled in number, and the number of those who speak the English language has quadrupled. After the Norman conquest, it took England six hundred years to add three millions to her population. She has done more than that within the last ten years. That this great and sudden growth has been caused by the general increase of the world's wealth may be seen from the fact that it is due not so much to an increase of the birth-rate as to a decrease of the death-rate among civilized peoples. The average span of a human life in England, Germany, and France is now six years longer than it was when Victoria ascended the throne, and is still increasing.¹ Men are healthier and live longer because they are able to afford more and better food, more and better clothing, better homes and superior sanitary and domestic arrangements.

A secondary result in the increase in the world's wealth has been an increase in the size of the cities. The greater supply of wealth means not only more people, but more rich people, — people a greater proportion of whom can afford to pay the high rents and buy the costly provisions of the towns. The increase of wealth caused by machinery thus builds up cities in two ways at once: it increases the whole number of inhabitants in the land, and, at the same time, the proportion of those inhabitants who can afford a town residence.

Increased wealth has increased the safety and salubriousness of the cities, thus making them more desirable places of residence. Drains, sewers, water-works, street-cleaning, and other sanitary arrangements have worked wonders in our towns during the last few decades. The death-rate is continually falling. The plague of the Middle Ages is known no more; even the cholera, which was so destructive twenty and thirty years ago, does not easily get a foothold this time; but all these sanitary arrangements are exceedingly costly, and are only possible where there is great wealth.

By another most important agency has the steam-engine promoted the growth of cities: that is the railway. The iron road enables the town to make its attractiveness far more widely felt than formerly. It greatly increases the convenience of getting about from suburb to centre, and from one part of town to another. Men can live at greater distances from their business, and the cities can hold more inhabitants with less crowding. But the greatest service that the railways render to the cities is that of facilitating the arrangements by which they are fed. Two hun-

¹ Michael G. Mulhall, *Progress of the World*, p. 6. London, 1880.

dred years ago, London, like a frugal household of the olden time, used to lay up a supply of food in autumn sufficient for the whole winter's needs, the greater part of which came from the immediate neighborhood. Now it is said that she never has more than a week's supply on hand, and that a fortnight's siege would bring her to starvation. Then, the cost of food was great and irregular and the supply uncertain, periods of dearth were frequent and famines occasional. Now the price of provisions is uniform, is much less than then, the supply is regular, and famine impossible. "Forty years ago Mr. Porter, the best economist in England, said, 'Great Britain can never obtain the bulk of her food supply from abroad, as all the shipping in the world, say 6,600,000 tons, would be insufficient to carry food for her population.' To-day Great Britain imports more than half her food, and employs, in doing so, ships whose tonnage exceeds that of the world's shipping when Mr. Porter wrote."¹ In half a century the price of wheat has fallen thirty-five per cent., and the consumption has risen, per inhabitant, thirty-two per cent.² The significance of such changes will be seen when it is remembered that the death-rate, as shown by Dr. Farr, of the Statistical Society, rises and falls in England with the price of bread.

In the opinion of experts, railroads have also operated very powerfully in favor of the great towns at the expense of the small ones, especially in the United States, by discriminating against the latter. The charges for shipping goods from a little town are frequently twice as great as from a city, where two or more lines compete for the traffic. This, of course, makes it difficult for manufacturers and traders to locate in a small community.

The steam-engine, and the wealth produced by it and by machinery, have contributed to the growth of cities in another way: they have increased the demand for such products as come from the towns, and have therefore multiplied the opportunities of earning a livelihood within them. There is a principle well known to economists called "Engel's law," the essence of which is this: as the income increases, the relative percentage of outlay for food, the great product of the country, diminishes; while the relative percentage of outlay for sundries — that is, the various manufactured articles or products of the town — becomes greater. As

¹ Michael G. Mulhall, *Progress of the World*, pp. 133 and 135. London, 1880.

² Andrew Carnegie states that one dollar will ship as much freight across the Atlantic to-day as thirty-five dollars would have shipped twenty years ago.

men grow richer, a larger part of their wants must be supplied by labor in the factories and a smaller proportion by labor in the fields; therefore, the richer the world, the greater will naturally be the proportion of its people who work within brick walls and walk on crowded pavements.

There is still another cause for the enormous development of the cities, which seems too important to be passed by: that is the change in methods of agricultural work. This reason, as you see, is not so immediately connected with the steam-engine, although it is the outcome of that series of inventions to which the discovery of the steam-engine gave the first impulse. With each successive year a smaller and smaller proportion of the world's workers are required to produce the world's food. What ten men used to do with difficulty, one man now does with ease through the aid of machinery. "One farmer, like Dr. Glyn, of California, or Mr. Dalrymple, of Dakota, with a field of wheat covering a hundred square miles, can raise as much grain with four hundred farm servants as five thousand peasant proprietors in France."¹ With each successive year, the production of a barrel of flour, a bushel of corn or potatoes, or a round of beef requires less labor. With each successive year a smaller part of the world's ever-increasing army of workers can be employed in the ordinary pursuits of agriculture. But the law of life, "In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread," has lost none of the rigor of its enforcement. Men toil as long and hard for daily bread in this year of grace as they did before mowers, reapers, and threshing-machines appeared; but the bulk of the work has been changed from field to factory, and the bulk of the workers have followed it.

Such reasons as these afford abundant explanation for the phenomenal increase of urban populations in modern times. Civilization has promoted the growth of the great towns by augmenting their natural attractiveness, the facilities for reaching them, and the opportunities of earning a livelihood within them, and, at the same time, by decreasing the obstacles and broadening the natural limits to their growth. It has brought to them an unlimited supply of cheap food, greater wealth to meet the costliness of city residence, and to overcome by proper sanitary arrangements the unhealthfulness of the crowded life. And finally, it has been continually changing the balance of the demand for work and workers, from the country to the town.

So long as such causes as these prevail, the cities of Christen-

¹ See Mulhall's *Progress of the World*, pp. 23 and 24.

dom will continue rolling themselves up to ever vaster size ; but these causes as yet show no diminution in their influence ; nor, so far as one may judge, are they likely to do so for generations to come.¹ The present may be the age of great cities, but the future is the age of greater. This must especially be the case with the United States. The youngest of the nations has already more large cities than any other, except Great Britain and Germany. Though still in their infancy, our principal towns surpass in size and in the tumult of their life many of the old and flourishing capitals of Europe. With the country growing in population at a rate unprecedented in the annals of all times, and the towns growing twice as fast ; with what seems a certainty of having as many inhabitants within one hundred years as all Europe has at present ; with every probability that the people of the twentieth century will centralize themselves even more than those of the nineteenth, — the United States may fairly expect to possess cities whose greatness cannot be equaled by anything that the world has yet seen.

All efforts to arrest the progress of the cities and to check the population that continually flows into them must be fruitless. The great social movements of the age cannot be stopped. Each successive year is certain to see a smaller place for the workers of the world in the fields and on the farms, and a larger place in shops, counting-rooms, offices, banks, manufactories, and the myriad industries that make their home in the metropolis. Let it not be assumed that great cities are of necessity what Thomas Jefferson called them, "great sores upon the body politic." Nothing is evil that is in the best sense natural, and the formation of great cities is a normal consequence of a high development of human society. They are found among the purest and most advanced of nations ; they come in the most enlightened times ; the evil of them is not in their size, but in the avarice, luxury, oppression, and vice that haunt them.

The wisest efforts of philanthropy will not be spent in the vain effort to prevent the incoming of men to them, but in the endeavor to make them better places for human habitation ; not in checking their growth, but in quenching their iniquity.

Samuel Lane Loomis.

¹ If it could be shown that poverty and crime were increasing more rapidly than population in the larger cities, there would be an indication that they were approaching the limit of possible growth under the present conditions of civilization. As a matter of fact, however, official returns for England, Scotland, and Germany show an opposite tendency.

THE MORMON PROPAGANDA.

THE missionary system of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints is well worthy of examination; for the fundamental ideas and methods contain much that is both unique and quite characteristic, and will set forth the strength and weakness of the organization as a whole, as well as the combined wisdom and folly of its originators. And much more, the extraordinary activity and marked success of this strange body of religionists in making proselytes fairly constitute one of the most striking, if not also most startling, religious phenomena of the century. Organized in April of 1830, in October the Mormon Church chose out three men to carry the new gospel to the region beyond the Missouri, and six months later thirty others followed by twos, baptizing and organizing as they went. These queer "Saints" have always affected in all things, and here in particular, to adhere strictly to the very letter of New Testament teaching. And going forth "without purse or scrip," the promise has never failed, "these signs shall follow." Miracles of all sorts have been superabundant from the beginning. This is verily the stone cut out of the mountain without hands. Full of faith and zeal, girded with wisdom and might more than human, they are sure to conquer the whole world for Joseph Smith, Jr.! Scarcely a land has been unvisited, and probably more than half a million in the New World and the Old have already owned this notorious creature of boundless ignorance, depravity, ambition, and conceit as, after Jesus Christ, the greatest teacher and redeemer of the race!

The Mormon scheme is eminently ancient and Oriental in its conception of the relations of the individual to the Church. "The Kingdom" is all in all, and must be pushed forward at all hazards. Personal preference, ease, material well-being are to be sacrificed without stint. The time, gifts, and possessions of every saint are always subject to call. The leaders, God's chosen vicegerents, are to decide absolutely how many are needed, who, and whither their feet shall speed. And of course, when thus called of "the Lord," obedience must be instant and unlimited, no matter at what serious damage to business, and though loved ones be left destitute. In early days volunteers were called for; but now for years the fashion has been for the First Presidency to make requisition upon each settlement for its quota of missionaries, and

for the local authorities to nominate. Then, if acceptable to the higher powers, they are named at the great gatherings in April and October, and "sustained" by the votes of the thousands assembled.

And missionaries are of different sorts, though all are equally honorable in Mormon esteem as builders of "the Kingdom." Thus, if new colonies are to be founded, the church draft is resorted to, and whole families are called to move on short notice. In 1842, elders, to the number of 380, left Nauvoo to refute serious charges relating to polygamy, then widespread, and in 1844, the Prophet being a candidate for the Presidency, 334 were sent from Maine to Texas "to preach the gospel *and electioneer*." Also before the days of the railroad frequent calls were made for teams, wagons, drivers, herders, etc., to cross the plains and bring back the year's immigration. Brigham was famous for contriving excuses to appropriate the time and resources of his people to their own heavy cost, and to the benefit of himself and the Church.

The statement will sound strange to Christian ears, that in the selection of elders to spread the faith, it often happens that slight regard is paid either to education or piety. The opportunity is not to be missed of punishing one's enemies, or of getting rid of rivals, or other troublesome persons! It supplies, too, an excellent chance to reform the wayward and the depraved. Thus Orson Pratt was perilously honest and outspoken, and hence was seldom suffered to tarry at home. An ex-United States judge, having incurred the ill-will of the autocratic head of the Church, "was sent on a long mission" to Van Diemen's Land. In 1856, Brigham secured the appointment of a number of loafers and vagabonds and worse, with Australia as the scene of their labors for the gospel, and in language rough and profane explained the meaning of their exile!! Of course, the large proportion is not of such miserable make. Many young men are chosen who by the things they do and suffer are rapidly changed from raw recruits to veterans. Others, by being compelled to defend the faith, are strengthened and confirmed therein. And not a few, vastly better than the Church which commissioned them, have shown themselves self-denying, intrepid, heroic, and ready to endure all manner of hardship and peril.

Nor must it by any means be supposed, that though Mormon missionaries are commonly unlettered and are selected so often in a way so full of haphazard, they possess no furnishing for their difficult task. On the contrary, though after the peculiar Mor-

mon fashion, they usually go forth fully armed and equipped. From childhood, and every Sunday, every boy is drilled in the doctrines of the Church and supplied with proof-texts by the hundred. On the platform, at an early age, he begins the practice of edifying the saints, and of confounding Israel's foes, by giving his "testimony." And a little later he is admitted to the priesthood, rises steadily from grade to grade, and thus receives further instruction. And hence, as nowhere else either in Christendom or heathendom, the entire male population is thoroughly trained to do battle for "the Kingdom." In theory, however, the main trust is not in such carnal weapons, but in "the Spirit," and wondrous tales are told by returned missionaries of how the weak things of Mormondom have brought utterly to naught the mighty things of England and America!

When these ambassadors for the Latter-day gospel have been "sustained," they receive soon after their instructions, as well as divers washings, and anointings, and blessings, to set in order both body and spirit. In 1837, at Joseph's call, 109 of the brethren offered themselves, and sallied forth from Kirtland in eight companies and took their journeys by lot north, south, east, west, northeast, southeast, southwest, and northwest. Before the Union Pacific was built it was the custom to assemble in Salt Lake about May 1st, and cross the Plains together with teams of oxen or mules. But in 1857 a company of seventy-five started on foot for the Missouri, each one pushing before him a hand-cart containing his entire stock of necessities and conveniences. One elder testifies that in October, 1849, he was drafted to go to Great Britain, having no intimation of what was in store for him till a motion was carried to that effect, but, notwithstanding, fitted himself out at the cost of nearly all he had in the world, and within eight days was off through the cañons.

For no salaries are paid, or expenses either, for toil in behalf of "the Kingdom." Each one goes altogether at his own charges, and only if his family is in actual want does the Church offer assistance. He reaches his appointed place of toil as best he can, and during all his term of labor depends for subsistence wholly upon the people to whom he ministers. Nowadays, however, a serious departure from apostolic precedent is tolerated, for money may be laid up in store for the outward trip. Subscriptions are taken among friends, that his purse may be well filled, or funds are piously raised from church dances! The missionaries of our time may even patronize Pullmans! Since Utah has been the

seat of Zion the period of absence is from two to three years, or in any case until the head of the Church says, come home.

In strictness, the Mormon message of salvation to the world comprises but these four "first principles" — faith, repentance, baptism for the forgiveness of sins, and laying on of hands for the reception of the Holy Ghost: each word or phrase holding a signification emphatically Mormon. But, sooner or later, enthusiastic mention is certain to be made of the divine mission of Joseph, the ministration of angels, the restoration of miraculous gifts, the Book of Mormon and the Book of Doctrine and Covenants inspired equally with the Scriptures, and the exclusive legitimacy of the priesthood. At first much was made also of the near return of the Jews, of the advent of Jesus and the end of the world. The elders had sharpest eyes for such evidence as came from wars, calamities, pestilences, and other portents. Nor have they ever failed to possess in abundance that excellent wisdom of the serpent which enabled them to decide what matters to put forward in their teaching, and concerning what to be discreetly silent. "Milk for babes" has been their shrewd motto, nor do they ever cast pearls before swine! When first sent to England certain items of doctrine were suppressed, lest the British conscience should stumble and the heart be hardened. In 1847, after naming truths fit to be taught abroad, Brigham commands, "If they want further information, tell them to flee to Zion. Anything beyond this in your teaching [plural marriage, for example] cometh of evil, is not required at your hands, and leadeth you into snares and temptations, which *tendeth* to condemnation." The idea was to get the converts safely to Utah, and there, helpless, compel them to accept what otherwise would be intolerable.

The number of missionaries annually called varies greatly according to circumstances, and sometimes the work of proselyting is suspended altogether. When Johnston's army was ordered to Salt Lake the elders were hurried in from all quarters. And in 1846, the Prophet having been slain, his blood left unavenged, and his followers compelled to seek refuge beyond the mountains, the cup of the nation's guilt was adjudged to be full to the brim, and so for nine long years, in all the Union, not an emissary from Brigham opened once his lips in invitation or warning, but then once more the gates of grace were thrown open benevolently to a people deserving only destruction! As we have already seen, missionary activity set in early, and it soon became widespread. By 1833, the new gospel had been preached in Canada. Two years later the

twelve "apostles" were chosen, and at once departed upon a preaching tour through the East, and within ten years from the beginning thousands from New England to the Mississippi Valley and the border Slave States had heard the marvelous story and owned Joseph a mighty revelator. Flourishing branches had sprung up in Boston, Salem, New Bedford, Providence, New York, Albany, etc., etc. Up to the final departure from Ohio it was the fashion for the traveling elders, after a season of toil in the vineyard, to assemble in Kirtland for the winter, and devote themselves to reading, writing, arithmetic (of which their lack was fearful), and *Hebrew*, the Prophet himself setting the wholesome example! In 1837, a movement was inaugurated which proved prolific in consequences to the Church, and without which in all probability it would soon have gone to pieces. As Smith phrases it: "Fault-finding, dissension, and apostasy" were rife. "It seemed as though earth and hell had combined against the Church to end it. And God revealed to me that something must be done to save the Church." And the saving something hit upon was, to carry the gospel to Great Britain. Or the fact is, that his theocratic *régime* was altogether too much for free-born descendants of the Pilgrims to endure. Hundreds were in hot rebellion, and so a grade of converts must be had accustomed and preferring to yield intellect and conscience to outside sway. With Americans only for members, the Mormon Church would long ago have been reformed and disinthralled, or else dead.

In obedience to "revelation" five elders were chosen, with Heber C. Kimball as chief, to "roll forth the Kingdom" across the sea. At the end of July, landing in Liverpool without a farthing, they pushed back at once to Preston and, within thirty days from New York, had baptized nine in the Ribble, and by the end of the year had made a thousand converts. Two years after, when just driven from Missouri, the Twelve were sent to enlarge the hopeful work. Herefordshire was the scene of their toils and their triumphs. One of their number baptized 1,800 in eight months, including 200 preachers, 200 in thirty days, and 600 in a single pool. By 1851, the British mission contained nearly 33,000 church members, while probably half as many more had found their way to the Great Basin. Those were the vaunted and astounding days when devils were cast out by legions and healing virtue was present in copious effusion.

In 1840, "apostle" Hyde, with great flourish of trumpets, set forth for Jerusalem to "dedicate the Holy Land to the gathering

of the Jews," and thirty years later two apostles and a prophetess were sent to repeat the process by prayer upon Mount Olivet. As soon as the Church was fixed in Utah the work of evangelization began to be pushed with vigor. Already in 1840 the East Indies and Australia had been reached. In 1843 four had been sent to the Society Islands. In 1849 the gospel was carried to France; in 1850 to Denmark, Sweden, Italy, Switzerland, and the Sandwich Islands; in 1851 to Norway, Iceland, and Chili; in 1852 to the Cape of Good Hope, the Crimea, Burmah, and Hindostan; in 1853 to Prussia, the West Indies, and China; in 1854 to Turkey and Siam; in 1855 to Brazil; in 1861 to the Netherlands; in 1864 to Austria, and in 1877 to Mexico. In 1855 the Church called 170 elders, making in all 331 then in the field. The next year 250 were appointed, and 216 in 1880, 189 in 1881, and in 1882 a round 200. Probably not less than 250,000 have been baptized in Europe, one half of them in the British Isles, and Scandinavian countries furnishing some 50,000.

But the task of the missionary is not complete until his trophies are safely treasured in the Mormon Mecca. No, doubt the Prophet's daring scheme for "gathering" his adherents out of the world into Zion is to be counted one of his shrewdest, most original. The process was started before the close of the first year, and in 1831 an entire branch emigrated from New York to Jackson County, Missouri. At the date of the exodus from Illinois 5,000 had gathered from England, and about 40,000 were located in and about Nauvoo. It was a terrible task for the European saints to cross an ocean and a continent to find the blessed spot where holy prophets dwelt, and where rose the walls of sacred temples; and to aid their faith the Perpetual Emigration Fund was founded in 1849. From this, to the poor a loan was made amounting to half or even the whole of the cost of the journey. In addition church agents were on hand to counsel and assist, and vessels were chartered. For \$50 one could reach Council Bluffs from Liverpool. In 1852-53 the entire emigration cost £30,000, and the year following £50,000. To still further reduce expenses the scandalous "hand-cart scheme" was contrived in 1855, was heralded as divinely wise and perfect; and when, the next year, under the impulse some 5,000 set forth on foot up the Platte, and blundering was added to the original folly, unspeakable suffering ensued, and hundreds perished in the mountains from frost and hunger. Between 1840 and 1859, saints to the number of 30,854 emigrated from Europe to America; not far from 50,000

between 1860 and 1879; and in all to date at least 90,000. Of these about 60,000 were supplied by Great Britain, and 25,000 by Denmark and Sweden. The present gathering amounts to an average of about 2,000 a year.

But if the successes of the elders have been remarkable, their failures have been not a whit less phenomenal. No heralds of good news since the world began ever met with more repulses or mishaps than these. They were certain at the outset that the Indians as one man had but to hear of the Book of Mormon to drink in its teachings as the very water of life! Likewise the Jews, the earth over, need only hear of Joseph and the plates to be healed of their obduracy. Moreover, possessed of the gift of tongues, without the torment of learning, they could speak and understand every language under the sun. But abundant experience has demonstrated to their infinite chagrin that the heathen mind and heart are invulnerable to their attack. Never a pagan has turned Mormon, and so to the vast bulk of mankind they have no mission whatsoever. From most Catholic countries they have been expelled by legal process, but where suffered to ply their arts they have found the people held by a force far greater than any they themselves were able to wield. It is only in Protestant countries that their logic and rhetoric, and copious citations from Scripture, can catch the ear and kindle emotion.

Then, alarming sign, year by year the area which yields return for their toil grows smaller, and the gleanings are less. Worst of all, the quality of the converts deteriorates. For some years only the social and intellectual refuse have arrived in Salt Lake. The class they have commonly captured is mainly composed of such nondescripts as these, though termed in happy church phrase, "the honest in heart:" the ignorant, of course, and the cranky, the fickle and uneasy, such as came to David in Adullam, those that crave strong sensations of all sorts and are ravenous for marvels, and whoever prefers salvation and exaltation by religious legerdemain rather than by humble and patient continuance in well-doing.

Finally, no church has ever lost nearly so large a proportion of its members by apostasy as this. The terms of admission are easy, and all sorts are received. The craze of joy and zeal soon passes, and the convert falls from Mormon grace. The shameless depravity of the leaders has always been a sore rock of offense. One enthusiastic admirer claims that not less than a million have been baptized to Joseph within five-and-fifty years. It is to be

hoped that this is not so, since, including the thousands born inside "the Kingdom," John Taylor can now muster but a scant 200,000. An elder of twenty-five years' standing affirms that not one in twenty who starts holds out. Of the eleven famous and original "witnesses," nine turned their back upon the Church, and that within ten years. Of the first twelve "apostles" Joseph once exclaimed, "All but two have lifted up the heel against me," and out of a total of thirty-four twelve became apostate. It was estimated that the Prophet had 150,000 followers at his death in 1844; but if so, not one in six was a "saint" more than in name, for of that number less than 25,000 ever set foot in Salt Lake. In the Scandinavian Mission, between 1850 and 1882, the total gains were 35,489, but the losses by excommunication were 11,620, not including such as lapsed from faith after emigration. And in Great Britain, between June, 1849, and December, 1854, though 34,592 were baptized, 15,587 were cut off; while between the middle of 1852 and the end of 1854 (the period when polygamy was first proclaimed) though 12,507 were in the fervor of their first love, not less than 8,079 had found their fill of Latter-day practice and precept.

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THE ORIGIN OF THE FEUDAL SYSTEM.

THE origin of an institution so wide-reaching as the Feudal System must always be an interesting study. Aside from this the origin of the feudal system illustrates in a striking way two great principles which seem to preside in historical progress — two laws we might call them, if the existence of a science of history were clearly proved. One is, that no great institution is the product of a single cause, springs from a single source, but rather that such institutions are produced by a great variety of causes, from many separate sources, all so working together as to accomplish a single end. The other may be stated in this way. No great and permanent institution is a sudden creation, is called into being at a moment's notice or by some happy inspiration to meet a special need, but is, on the contrary, a slow growth extending through more than one generation and answering more than a single demand.

It is not merely because I wish to present to English readers the best present opinion on the origin of the feudal system, but also because I hope to illustrate in this important case the working of these two principles that I attempt this essay.

Two theories of the origin of feudalism are most familiar to English readers. One derives it wholly from Roman sources, from a development of the Roman practice of settling veterans and also German tribes on lands near the frontiers, which they were to enjoy on condition of military service. The other derives it wholly from German sources, from the supposed character of the German conquest by military bands under individual chiefs, whose followers were joined to them by strong ties of personal fidelity — the *comitatus*. These bands, by preserving their military character and the relationship between the lord and the man in dividing the conquered lands among themselves, created the feudal system at once. As a matter of fact, the feudal system was created by a union of Roman and German elements; but not as specified in the theories just stated. The Roman military colonies did not originate the benefice, and the German conquerors were more than mere bands of warriors. They were organized states — indeed, in the sense meant by the earlier writers on feudalism, the military bands did not exist at all. But they did bring with them important elements which assisted in forming the new institutions. These elements, still in the germ, found the proper soil in which to grow, already prepared for them in Gaul through arrangements and practices which the political confusion of the later Empire had allowed to come into use. It is hardly possible that either the German or Roman beginnings alone would have produced the feudal system, though either might have reached a conclusion somewhat similar in form. The union of the two created that institution as it really existed throughout the Middle Ages.¹

Its origin, therefore, must be first sought on Roman soil. It

¹ The two chief authorities on the origin of the feudal system are Roth, *Geschichte des Beneficialwesens*, 1850; and *Feudalität und Unterthanenverband*, 1863; and Waitz, *Deutsche Verfassungsgeschichte*. The best accounts of the Roman situation and its connection with the feudal system are to be found in v. Sybel, *Königthum*, pp. 438-474; Dahn, *Könige der Germanen*, vol. vi. 83 ff.; and two articles by Fustel de Coulanges, in *Rev. d. Deux Mondes*, May, 1873, and Aug., 1874. See, also, Jung, *Zur Würdigung der agrarischen Verhältnisse in der römischen Kaiserzeit*; v. Sybel, *Hist. Zeitschr.*, vol. xlii., p. 43. Roth describes briefly the Roman conditions, but denies their connection with feudalism: *Feud.*, p. 288.

was there that its essential elements began to take shape, and were so far advanced that they passed over to the Germans as important features of the society which they conquered. It is there also, in the social conditions of the later Empire, that the causes are to be found which called these elements into life.

These causes belong to two distinct but closely related classes: political and economical. The political causes were the direct result of the character and methods of the later Roman government. The monarchy which Augustus established could not remain as he left it. If it was to maintain itself at all in the existing condition of things, it must be a constantly increasing despotism, a more and more complete centralization. The logic of events, rather than any deliberate plan, produced that gradual change in the Roman constitution which was completed by Diocletian and Constantine, and which brought with it several important consequences. In the first place, the more perfect centralization necessitated a great army of officials, who should represent the government everywhere and form its means of action in all the details of public life. It produced also a decline of whatever ability might still have remained in the individual units of the Empire to govern themselves, to seek out themselves ways of improving their local conditions, and of doing away with local evils. It compelled finally a constantly increasing burden of taxation. The necessary military expenses of the Empire had been and were enormous; the army of civil officials must be supported and their pilfering of public funds endured; and, lastly, one of the chief means of supporting a despotism is an outward splendor that overawes the subject, and a reckless prodigality of expenditure, which must increase even as affairs grow worse.

But if this had been all, if with despotism and heavy taxation the government had secured to its subjects good order, internal peace, and security of property and of rights, the condition of things would have been endurable; indeed there might have been under such a *régime* an era of general prosperity and happiness. But this it did not do. There was, from the middle of the third century on, an almost unbroken series of internal wars, insurrections, and invasions. The provinces, left to themselves by a distant emperor scarcely able to defend his own throne, were laid waste, first by one enemy and then by another, by rebellious legions or upstart emperors of a "few weeks'" reign, by German incursions, or by armed bands of revolted peasants — the Bagaudæ — who sought in force the safety and sustenance which they could

not obtain by peaceful means. The short periods when some able and energetic emperor established peace and security for a time were too rare to enable a settled social order to arise. Naturally the same results followed here which always follow similar conditions everywhere. A class of powerful individuals arose who could furnish their poorer neighbors in some degree the protection which the state could not give, and which the local community was no longer able to provide. The system of great landed properties which grew up in Italy so rapidly after the Punic wars had extended from Italy to the provinces; and in the possessors of these often enormous estates the material for this class of petty local tyrants was ready at hand. The state itself had indirectly assisted not a little in building up their power by the numerous immunities from taxation which it granted on one pretext or another to almost all persons of wealth, and it is directly at this point that the economical causes join with the political to call into life the germs of feudalism.

These economical causes are twofold. In the first place, the enormous burden of the Roman taxation rested chiefly on the soil. The landowner was directly responsible for the expenses of the state—a system which weighed with especial hardship on the small landholder, and still more so because of the immunity which the great proprietor was likely to enjoy. But, in the second place, a declining commerce, increasing difficulty of communication, a debased and scanty currency, a decreasing productiveness of the soil, and an increasing cost of all necessary articles of use made it further almost impossible for the small landowner to maintain himself in competition with his wealthy neighbor, especially where the great landowner had a personal interest in driving the small one to the wall.

We have thus two different sets of causes combining to produce a new set of institutions: on the one hand, political anarchy and personal insecurity compelling the weak to seek the protection of the strong; and, on the other, economic conditions making it extremely difficult for the small proprietor to hold his position, and rendering the temptation to the rich to drive the poor into personal dependence almost too strong to resist.

Under the influence of these causes two practices came into frequent use. By one of them the man who owned no land entered into a personal relation with some more powerful man, by which he received protection and support in return for personal services. He remained, however, a free man, that is, he became

not a slave but a client, a word which came to be the common name for a person in this relationship. By the other, the small possessor, unable any longer to sustain the weight of taxation, surrendered his land to some great proprietor, in the hope of being allowed still to cultivate it, freed from some of his burdens. The protection of such proprietors as enjoyed freedom from taxation would naturally be especially sought. The practice became frequent enough to threaten serious diminution of the revenue, and against this scheme for escaping public burdens the emperors directed all the possible terrors of the law, threatening, with increasing severity, fine, confiscation, and death. But with no effect. The economic forces are always more powerful than statute law; and the process went on unchecked, the number of small proprietors — the real bulwark of a state — constantly diminishing, the size of the great estates and the legal power of the wealthy constantly increasing.

These two practices we may distinguish from each other as two separate institutions: one having especial reference to personal protection, the other to the use of land; and we may give to them respectively the names of commendation and the benefice, using words which did not become technical till after the Roman period.

By commendation the personal relation was founded. The poor man, unable to care for himself, goes to his powerful neighbor, and, representing to him his destitute condition, prays to be taken into his protection and furnished with food and clothes. This the strong man grants, and promises protection and sustenance, in return for which certain services are to be performed by the protected. By this arrangement is established a personal connection very similar in most respects to the older *clientèle* which Cæsar describes as existing in his time among the Celts of Gaul.¹ It does not seem probable, however, that there was any historical line of descent from the one to the other. The earlier was no doubt an institution called into being by causes similar to those which created the later, and it would be very likely to disappear in the centuries of good order and security which Gaul enjoyed under Roman rule. But in results, as well as in forms, the parallel is very close. From the accounts which we have it is easy enough to form a picture of the later Roman magnate surrounded by crowds of dependents, often armed or even organized into regular

¹ The passages in Cæsar, which are very suggestive of the political causes in any age, are i. 4, 17, 18; iii. 22; vi. 15, 19, 30; vii. 4, 40. Book ii. 1 indicates the effect of the Roman conquest.

troops; and scenes like that which must have taken place when Orgetorix overawed the Helvetian court could have been by no means infrequent towards the end of the Empire.

The institution which I have called by its later name, the benefice, related solely to land. By this, under forms probably of great variety, and much according to the lord's pleasure, the landless man received a piece of land, or the small landowner who had been obliged to give up his estate to his powerful neighbor received it back for occupation during his lifetime, or for some definite period. Often, however, the tenure by which these lands were held was an extremely insecure one, depending entirely on the will of the patron, who might demand back his property at his pleasure. Such a tenure, such a method of granting lands, was recognized by the Roman law in the *precarium*¹—an arrangement which differed entirely from an ordinary renting; in that it was for no fixed period, but depended for its continuance wholly upon the will of the parties, so that it might be terminated by either party at pleasure. It was a method which was more often in use for the purpose of conferring a benefit upon a friend or a dependent than for a purely business transaction.² This form, appearing no doubt in various modifications, was the legal basis of the tenures by which the dependents of the great proprietor received their bits of land as a favor conferred by him.

Another important feature of this institution was the fact that receiving land in this way carried with it no loss of personal freedom, no diminution of status. Under the bad government of the time it might be almost impossible to prevent the patron from treating such a dependent practically as a slave, and the latter on his side might gradually sink to a condition where it would be impossible longer to preserve full personal freedom, but he did so because of economic hardship, not by reason of his land tenure.

We have here, then, two institutions brought into general use in the later Roman times: one personal in character, establishing a relationship very similar to that between patron and client, the

¹ This was at first the technical word, becoming, in the corrupted Latin of the Conquest, *precaria-e*. *Beneficium* was at first used only in a general way, to denote the character of the act, as in the next note; and from this general use developed its technical use both in feudal and ecclesiastical law.

² "Interdictum de precariis merito introductum est, quia nulla eo nomine juris civilis actio esset; magis enim ad donationes et beneficii causam, quam ad negotii contracti spectat precarii conditio." *Digest*, xliii. 26. 14.

This illustrates both the legal character of the *precarium* and the use of the words.

other enabling the landless man or the bankrupt small landowner to obtain land, under conditions in the abstract unfavorable, but in the existing condition of society more favorable than any other could have been.

It must be kept in mind that in Roman times, however, there was no necessary connection between these two practices. It might be the case that they were sometimes united, that commonly the one receiving land as a dependent received also in some form the protection of the proprietor; but this relationship was a manifestly different one from that established by the purely personal commendation; and in this latter case there was no supposition that land must be granted by the patron in order to render the tie complete. They remained until after the German invasions without any necessary connection either in practice or idea.

Nor do these institutions exhibit in Roman times any tendency to advance beyond this stage. That they really established a miniature political relationship is clear enough. But they showed no signs of being able to evolve a new political society. To inquire to what they would have come if the Roman anarchy had continued a few generations longer without the German invasions would be profitless; but it seems impossible that out of them alone a new organization for society should have proceeded. The new life, the power of growth, came to them as it came to the rest of the Roman world, — from the Germans.

It may perhaps seem that these Roman institutions, as they have been described, contain the essential features of the feudal system. The almost exactly similar condition of things which continued after the settlement of the Visigoths in Spain has been said by a distinguished writer on this period to exhibit in unmistakable traces the characteristics of feudalism.¹ The effort to make clear the fact, that here are to be found the germs of the later growth, leads to a possible exaggeration of the similarity; and it will be useful on this account, as well as to give a systematic outline of the later progress, to state here the principal steps which must yet be taken in order to transform these Roman beginnings into the historical feudal system. These are as follows: These institutions must in the first place become legal, that is, they must be recognized by the government as proper social institutions; they must, in the second place, become constitutional, that is, they must not merely be recognized by the government as having a legal existence, they must also be adopted as a part of the state

¹ Dahn, vi. 93, 123; v. Sybel, p. 456.

machinery; they must, further, become united into a single institution; the military character must be introduced into them; and, finally, the lord of the domain must acquire judicial rights over all those on his lands, to the exclusion of the jurisdiction of the state, and so acquire the beginning of a virtual independence.¹

Into this society, then, of great landowners and of the poor under their protection, came the German tribes to establish their new governments. The institutions which they found they did not destroy nor disturb. Indeed, the original sources which give us many of the most interesting pictures of these relations belong directly to the time when the Germans were entering the Roman territories or were already established there. It is, on the contrary, certain that they adopted these practices themselves. Individuals among them began to accumulate great estates and to form a new nobility exactly according to the Roman methods, driving their poorer neighbors into dependence and subjection, surrounding themselves with crowds of subservient "friends," as the clients were often called, and granting their lands as "*precariae*."

This process of adoption was rendered easy by the fact that there were among the Germans themselves institutions very similar to those of the Romans, and it was from these that their own contributions to the final product were derived.

In regard to land they had no arrangement like that which they found. Among them, when any one received land from another to cultivate, he did so at the expense of his personal freedom, of his political rights. The Roman practice, however, of obtaining the use of another's land without loss of status would present such manifest advantages that they would not be slow to adopt it.

On the other hand, the Germans possessed two institutions which presented the closest analogy to the relations for personal protection which had grown up in the Empire.

One was the *mundium*. This was the name given by the Germans to the combined "right and duty of protection which the father exercised over his children, the husband over his wife, the nearest relatives over the orphan, or an especially-appointed guardian over the unmarried maiden or the widow."² This

¹ Other features, as the hereditary character of benefices, the ceremony of homage, etc., necessary to be noticed in any detailed account, are of relatively little importance for the purposes of this sketch.

² Stobbe, *Handbuch d. Deut. Privatrechts*, vol. iv., p. 3. Waitz denies that the father's right was included in the idea: *Verf.-Gesch.* i., p. 59, n. 2.

institution, originally belonging in the sphere of family life, had been widely extended in its application to cover all classes of persons who needed protection or some one to represent them before the courts. The emancipated slave or the poor freeman placed himself "in the *mundium*" of some person of influence for the protection of his rights. Especially extended was the idea of the King's *Mundium*, so that it embraced under the royal law protection the whole community, and formed the idea which underlay the preservation of the public peace. Individuals could also be especially received into the Royal *Mundium* as into that of a private person. This institution, in its external appearance, was somewhat like the Roman relations for personal protection; but there was one difference which was of very great importance. The Roman had been formed outside the law, against the law, not always to protect the individual in his legal rights, but often to protect him against being compelled to fulfill his legal duties, and the state had tried by every means in its power to prevent its growth. The German, on the other hand, was thoroughly legal, a part of the regular machinery of the state, and its purpose was to protect the powerless in the exercise of his constitutional rights. Aside from the fact itself of the existence among the Germans of a device so similar to the Roman, this fundamental difference is the one feature of importance.

The second German institution which presented points of likeness to the Roman was the *comitatus* of free warriors who attached themselves to the chief or king, lived in his house, were protected and supported by him, and received from him occasionally presents of special value as rewards for their services. Tacitus has given us an account of this institution, which is brief, but presents its essential features. It was primarily a military custom, though it was continued in existence during times of peace. The young warriors of the people regarded it as an honor to attach themselves in this way to a chief, to fight especially for his glory, and, if necessary, to sacrifice their lives for him or with him. For the chiefs it was an honor to be known to have a large and brave *comitatus*, and to be generous in rewarding its members. It procured for them influence and power, not merely among their own people, but also abroad in neighboring states.

Here, again, we have some similarity to the Roman relations, some of the appearances of clientship. But here, again, the resemblance is only external, not at all real; for not only the fundamental idea from which the relation springs, but also its whole

purpose and result, are manifestly different. In the one case the man seeks primarily protection and support, we may almost say alms; in the other, honor. In the one case the chief seeks primarily a selfish and material power; in the other, glory, and through this, position and influence. The one relationship approaches more or less nearly that of master and servant; the other is one of mutual service, alike honorable to both.

In considering the influence of this institution on the formation of the feudal system, the important points to be kept in mind, aside from its mere existence, are the following three: First, that the right to form and maintain such a *comitatus* resided in the king alone, or in the recognized head of the state where there was no king.¹ If allowed to others at all, it was only to those who stood at the head of definite and well-marked subdivisions of the state. Second, that membership in this *comitatus*, far from carrying any diminution of freedom or of rights, was regarded as an honor. Third, the strong duty of fidelity which rested on the member of the *comitatus*, which bound him to use every effort and to make every sacrifice to advance the interests and glory of his lord, and which caused every violation of this fidelity to be regarded as the most disgraceful of acts for which there could be no atonement.

While these two German institutions, the *mundium* and the *comitatus*, present many points of resemblance to those in Gaul during the Frankish times and those of the later feudal system, it must be remembered that neither of these developed from the German institutions, but from the Roman, and that the German enter in rather as ideas than as positive facts to modify and transform the Roman elements into new results.²

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¹ Roth and Waitz unite in this opinion, but it should be noticed that its correctness is denied by some others.

² Some points of detail, like the vassal's oath of fidelity, may very likely have been borrowed directly from the *comitatus*, but not the whole institution. Roth's argument on this point goes far to justify Waitz's general criticism, that his point of view is too narrowly juristic. On the oath and some other details, see Ehrenberg, *Commendation und Huldigung*. 1877.

[To be concluded.]

THE NATURE AND WORKING OF THE CHRISTIAN CONSCIOUSNESS.

No apology is needed for inviting attention again to a subject which is much in the thought of Christian thinkers, and on which the last word has not been and is perhaps not likely soon to be said. Granting this to be true, it ought to be possible by this time to state with some degree of clearness what the Christian consciousness is, — if, indeed, there be any reality corresponding to this term, — and to define its place as one of the forces that work in the development of the truth of Christianity. This paper is simply an attempt in that direction.

1. The consideration of this question properly begins with the fact that there are certain first truths, known intuitively by the human mind, which form the basis of all subsequent mental operations. The fact itself of first truths given in the very nature of man is indeed denied by the empirical school of philosophers; but even they are compelled to acknowledge that there are fundamental beliefs acquired by mankind — by means of the principle of heredity — from an immeasurable past experience, which have the force of established and intuitively accepted principles. Thus Herbert Spencer says:¹ "Just as I believe that the intuition of space, requiring only to be made definite and complete by personal experiences, has practically become a form of thought, apparently quite independent of experience; so do I believe that the experiences of utility organized and consolidated through all past generations of the human race have been producing corresponding nervous modifications, which, by continued transmission and accumulation, have become in us certain faculties of moral intuition, certain emotions responding to right and wrong conduct, which have no apparent basis in the individual experiences of utility." Mr. Spencer in this deliverance doubtless represents fairly the class to which he belongs, and concedes the fact of intuitions "practically considered." Whilst, then, the things which I am about to say are intended especially for those of the intuitional school, they are applicable, with slight modifications, to those of the empirical school.

There are certain intuitions which lie at the basis of our thinking. All men believe in the existence of space, in the existence

¹ *Data of Ethics*, p. 123. D. Appleton & Co.

of time;¹ that every change must be preceded by some cause; that things which are equal to the same thing are equal to one another; that we ourselves exist; and that there is a world outside of us. These intuitive truths, however we may have come by them, are a part of us as we enter on our existence in this world, and in every department of our being they are our first principles both of thought and conduct.

2. It is true of all our intuitions that they are given in consciousness. In its primary signification consciousness is the power by which we know our mental states. It is the name given to that indispensable faculty of the human soul. If I have a sensation, hunger, cold, heat; if I have an emotion, joy, anger, fear, it is consciousness that gives me the knowledge of that sensation or emotion. All my thoughts, my purposes, my mental acts or states of whatever sort, are made known to me by consciousness. The knowledge thus given directly by consciousness is, of course, unerring. We may misinterpret our sensations, or our feelings, but this is the result of a false judgment, which we confound with the fact given us in consciousness. For example, I have a friend who was born in a hot climate. Upon coming North for the first time as a child he had given him a dish of ice-cream. He exclaimed at once, "It burns." Consciousness was right in its report, which was that the ice-cream produced a sensation which reminded him of that caused by burning; it was his judgment that confounded it with that of burning, and which was mistaken. So it is in a vast multitude of instances; our judgments are at fault, and misinterpret what in themselves are the perfectly correct reports of consciousness.

Besides the facts given directly by consciousness there are things given *in* consciousness, in the sense that they are necessarily involved in the facts which consciousness reports. I cannot better illustrate this than by means of the famous doctrine of Descartes: "*Cogito, ergo sum*" (I think, therefore I exist). What is it that is here the direct datum of consciousness? Evidently it is the fact, *I think*. The soul is conscious of that mental experience. But there is another fact given here, *I exist*, and this is clearly involved in the fact first reported. But how is it involved? Is it an inference; a truth derived from the fact that I think by a logical process? Or is it something known intuitively; a fact given

¹ It is unessential, as regards our present purpose, whether we believe that time and space are actual existences, or maintain with Kant that they are known to us only as necessary forms of thought.

along with the other *in* consciousness? Probably most would prefer the latter explanation, and would say, "I do not have to reason out the fact that I exist; it is known by me intuitively." It is a question whether the knowledge of the external world is not given in the same way. I have a sensation of touch; do I then have to reason out the fact that there is a thing touched outside of and different from me? Do we not have a presentative, immediate, intuitive knowledge of a something external to ourselves?

Now, in defining these indirect data of consciousness there is evidently room for the use of the illative or reasoning power; it is even impossible to arrive at a clear knowledge of them without the use of that power. The process of reason in such cases, as it has in effect been defined by Sir William Hamilton, is as follows. A certain fact seems clearly given in consciousness. It can, however, be doubted, for it is not a simple deliverance of consciousness reporting a mental act or state. Are we then to accept it? Reason says yes, unless its falsehood has been evinced. Reason shows us, also, that no attempt to discredit the veracity of consciousness in such cases has succeeded; its deliverance therefore must stand.¹

3. The data or deliverances of consciousness are themselves also called consciousness, and as properly so called as the faculty that furnishes them. This is an obvious fact. It is equally proper to say, "My consciousness informs me of a certain sensation," or to say, "I have the consciousness of a certain sensation." In the one of these cases the word "consciousness" means the faculty by which we know our states, in the other, the knowledge given by the faculty. It may be remarked that the same double use is true of nearly all the words that express our mental faculties. Imagination is either the image-making faculty, or the image which the faculty makes. The like is true of the words "sensation," "memory," "understanding." Each of these may express the mental faculty, or its product. The word "intellect" is an exception, and the only one of importance, standing as it does for the mental faculty alone, and not for its data.

Plain as this distinction is, in recent discussions on the subject of the Christian consciousness there has arisen great confusion from the neglect of it. Thus Dr. Harris, in his article in this "Review,"² declared that the Christian consciousness was "both the

¹ *Essay On the Philosophy of Common Sense*, attached to Hamilton's Reid, pp. 745 and 755.

² *The Functions of the Christian Consciousness*, vol. ii., p. 338.

organ and the criterion of truth." Dr. Francis Patton, in the "Independent," denied the correctness of this statement, saying, "How can the Christian consciousness be *both* the organ and criterion of truth?" Now, the answer to that question is plain. Considered as the faculty by which we know our mental states, it is self-evident that the Christian consciousness is both the organ and the criterion of truth. It is the organ, for it is an instrument and our most important instrument of arriving at the truth; it is a criterion, for it is the ultimate test by which we judge of the reality of all truth. Considered, on the other hand, as the knowledge given by the faculty, consciousness, while it may be the criterion, is certainly not the organ of truth. A method of investigation is properly called an organ, as in the case of the "Organon" of Aristotle and the "Novum Organum" of Lord Bacon; but mere knowledge cannot be spoken of as an organ. Dr. Harris was therefore correct when he said in reply to Dr. Patton, "The consciousness may be the organ and criterion of truth in the same way that the intellect is." This was in effect to say, "When I speak of the Christian consciousness as both the organ and criterion of truth I mean the consciousness considered as a faculty, not as the product of the faculty." Still, as he failed, even now, to make the distinction in words, and as the intellect, to which he resorted for comparison, has the peculiarity that it is used in the one sense alone, the confusion was not removed, while Dr. Patton might still claim a certain justification of his criticism in the fact, that Dr. Harris in his article had almost uniformly used the word "consciousness" in the other sense to denote not the mental faculty, but its deliverance, insisting on the substantial identity of the Christian consciousness and Christian experience.

Later, Dr. Behrends enters the controversy in the "Congregationalist," and darkens counsel a great deal more in an article which I must regard as both confused and inconsequent. Dr. Behrends begins with the words: "The main difficulty in dealing with the phrase 'Christian consciousness' is the absence of clear definitions." In the laudable endeavor to remove this difficulty he proceeds to say: "Philosophically, consciousness is the knowledge which the mind has of itself and of its own operations. It is the universal condition and concomitant of all mental and moral activity. It makes known what I think, feel, and choose." *Knowledge makes known.* We are tempted to ask, Has Dr. Behrends really made this discovery, and is he kind enough, in order to relieve the confusion in people's minds, to impart it to them?

But it is fairer to give him the benefit of what is, doubtless, the true explanation, and to say that he begins the attempt to clear up our confusion by himself confounding hopelessly the two meanings of the word "consciousness," first laying down the formal definition of it as a certain kind of knowledge, and in the next breath proceeding to speak of it as the faculty that furnishes the knowledge. After such a beginning it is not surprising that he goes on to confound consciousness with judgment, as when he says: "Consciousness gives me the present sensation, thought, feeling, but consciousness may be corrected by criticism." Now, it has been sufficiently shown that consciousness is always accurate in its report; it is the judgment, in its interpretation of the deliverance of consciousness, that is capable of being cultivated and improved. So that these two are evidently confounded. (Or does Dr. Behrends here again pass *unconsciously*, in the same sentence, from one to the other meaning of the word "consciousness?" It is open to the reader to choose between these two explanations.)

It need only be added that in this paper the word "consciousness" will generally be used to signify the knowledge given in consciousness, with certain additions to that knowledge, which will be specified later; and should it be used occasionally in its other meaning, to denote the faculty, the context, it is hoped, will sufficiently indicate it.

4. Coming now more immediately to the subject in hand, there are certain intuitive truths — first principles, let us call them — given to man in his *moral* consciousness.

It would be of course impossible, and is unnecessary to our purpose, to give a complete list of these; I need only specify a few which may serve as samples of the whole: —

(1.) Every man is conscious of a feeling of obligation to do certain things, and to avoid doing certain other things. Men differ indefinitely as to what the things are which they ought to do; but that there is a something which is right for them and their duty, this all men feel and know.

(2.) This responsibility exists only in the case of voluntary acts. It does not extend to matters in which it is out of our power to act otherwise than we do.

(3.) "No man is born for himself only." All men have duties which they know they ought to fulfill towards their families, friends, neighbors, and the government.

(4.) "In every case we ought to act that part towards another which we would judge to be right in him to act towards us if we

were in his circumstances and he in ours. In other words, what we approve in others that we ought to practice in like cases, and what we condemn in others, that we ought not to do.”¹

(5.) As between the virtues, “unmerited generosity should yield to gratitude, and both to justice.”

(6.) Passing to the religious sphere, we are conscious of a feeling of dependence on a power higher than ourselves.

(7.) The feeling of dependence involves the intuitive belief in a God. If instinctively, in times of special conjuncture or need, our souls turn away to some higher being whose anger we need to avert or his favor to gain, then the existence of such a being is given in our consciousness — then there *is* a higher being, God, for us to look away to, and to regard with fear or reverence.

The feeling of dependence is not the only one that may seem thus to involve the knowledge of God: the sentiments of duty and of aspiration, and the instinctive desire of worship, are of the same nature; they are parts of man's constitution, as a moral and spiritual being, by which he “seeks after God, if haply he may feel after him and find him.” It is not, of course, pretended by any that the knowledge of God is given in the same way that the knowledge is of the feelings of dependence of duty and of worship. These are given immediately *by* consciousness; but it is surely a fair question whether the knowledge of God is not given *in* consciousness as truly as that of our own existence, or as that of the existence of a world outside of us. Much ridicule has been visited on the “Gottes-Bewusstsein” of the Germans, the consciousness of God; but true candor would admit that the thought is not one to be summarily dismissed, and that, if the knowledge of God is not given intuitively, it is still given by a process of reasoning from the premises of consciousness so direct as to be next to intuition itself; a fact which Paul well understood when he uttered the memorable words that have been quoted.

The instances of direct moral and spiritual intuitions that have been given are such as must be acknowledged to be true by all men, the barbarous as well as the civilized. Thus the Fijian's conception of what he ought to do may be, to our seeming, a very strange one; it may be to kill his enemy and to eat him afterwards; but it is still true of him that there is *a something* he feels the obligation to do, — *an ought* for him. It is no less true of him that he is morally obliged to do the thing which he be-

¹ This axiom entire, and others either entire or in substance, I have taken from Reid's *Active Powers*, essay 5, ch. i.

lieves another in precisely the same circumstances ought to do, and so on through the list.

5. The moral and spiritual consciousness in man, consisting primarily of the recognition of the moral intuitions, requires to be and is capable of being developed.

This is apparent from many considerations.

(1.) The power to read our own minds accurately is not, as we have seen, a natural gift of man in his present condition; it is a power that comes only with study and reflection. Is not this, indeed, almost the last attainment? "Know thyself" — is there any higher wisdom? or is there anything more characteristic in Christianity itself than the great revealing light which it throws on the human consciousness awaking man to the knowledge of himself?

(2.) If we consider the degraded condition of man in general we are brought to the same conclusion, that of the indispensable need of the development of his moral consciousness, and of conditions favorable to such a process. This is equally true, whether we adopt the Bible view of human nature or the evolutionary view favored by modern science. According to the former, man has fallen from an original condition of uprightness and communion with God. That original nature, framed after the divine image, is still present in him, though in a condition of decay. Its germ survives his ignorance, his selfishness, his unrestrained and brutal lusts, all the power of his evil habits. Something of upward aspiration is still left to him: "Even in our ashes live their wonted fires." Through this, through the example of superior men sometimes arising, through the help of God, of whom he is not forsaken, there is hope for him that he will be restored to the divine ideal from which he has fallen.

According to the development theory, man is struggling upward from animal and inferior spiritual conditions to an ideal that lies before him. He is struggling upward not by a blind chance or a happy accident, but by a prearranged purpose, which can exist only in the mind of the Being from whom all proceeds. This, science itself will have to concede, begins to concede. For our purpose the difference is slight; in the one case man is seeking to regain a lost ideal, whose germ survives in him ready to be awakened to life; in the other he is seeking to attain a future ideal, whose germ exists, by anticipation, within him, and is constantly pushing into greater fullness of life. In either case, and this is the important truth now insisted on, this moral conscious-

ness is intended to be and is in necessary process of being developed.

(3.) That the moral consciousness is subject to the law of development is evident from the fact that among our moral intuitions are some of great importance that are involved only indirectly in consciousness.

It may never be decided whether these beliefs are indeed intuitions, or whether they are only inferences from direct data of consciousness: but this is of small importance. Other great moral truths are admitted to be inferences only, but their force is hardly less on that account. The step is short between many principles of conduct, and the first truths on which they rest; so short and unquestionable that the inference itself almost may be said to be intuitive. And it ought to be stated that the term "Christian consciousness" covers these also, as it is used in modern theology; it is not confined to the strict data of consciousness, whether direct or indirect; it cannot well be, since these themselves have never yet been exactly defined;¹ it includes those generally-accepted moral truths and approved feelings, which either constitute or surely accompany the moral consciousness in its developed state.²

6. Christianity has had more to do in the development of the moral consciousness in man than any other fact in human history. This is a point of essential importance in our discussion; it will, however, be so fully conceded that I need dwell upon it but briefly.

Christianity has addressed itself to the first principles of moral and religious truth, — it is not only consonant with them, but sat-

¹ Much remains to be done in the work of defining the *a priori* intuitions of the mind, both in the intellectual and moral spheres.

² Dr. Behrends, in the article already referred to, attempts an exhaustive classification of the possible meanings of the term "the Christian consciousness." One of the meanings he suggests is "consciousness as the equivalent of intuition." He specifies, among the moral intuitions, "the sense of dependence, the idea of duty, the sense of sin, the idea of God." He is more Kantian than Kant in maintaining that these are merely "moulds of thought" (is the idea of God a mould of thought merely?). He easily proves that as Christ is not known intuitively there are no Christian intuitions. But, by his own reasoning, if the moral intuitions are the moulds to which all thought on moral subjects must be conformed, why are they not the moulds to which Christian thought must be conformed? and if Christian thought interprets and develops these, awaking in the soul a far truer and deeper consciousness of them, is it absurd to speak of a Christian consciousness embracing the moral intuitions as a part, at least, of its content? And is it so very absurd to call this consciousness a criterion of truth, and the faculty itself both an organ and criterion of truth?

urated with them, — and has urged them on the conscience with incredible power; such truths as each man's individuality, dignity, responsibility; such truths as the duty of sincerity, of the purpose of righteousness, of love, of love in the form of sacrifice, of trust in God and in the final blessedness of sacrifice. Christianity has addressed itself to these great principles of spiritual truth; has pressed their importance; has set them in a clear light, revealing man to himself; has enlarged their sphere by showing the wider circle of truths they involve; has set man on their study, appealing to fear, hope, aspiration; has set him on realizing them in his life. Christianity stands alone in the vast part it has thus taken in the work of interpreting and developing the moral and religious consciousness in man.

7. Christianity not only interprets and develops, but must itself, in turn, be interpreted and judged by the moral and spiritual consciousness in man.

When Christianity was first offered as a new religion to the human mind, it will be acknowledged by all that this must have been the case. On what ground should the follower of Plato, on what ground should the disciple of Buddha Gautama, forsake his old belief and accept Christianity? On what conceivable ground except that Christianity commended itself to those fundamental principles of his spiritual being which it was able both to interpret and to clothe with a new power? What Christianity was able to do then it is able to do now, and it is still to be judged by this test. That partly self-deceived and partly self-confessed but wholly conceited empiric, Thomas Carlyle, whose peculiar genius led him to forsake the worship of Christ, in which his pious parents brought him up, and to betake himself to the worship of heroes (of whom he might perhaps himself be counted one) sneers at this argument; but it will continue to stand as the strength of the Christian system in the future, even as it has stood in the past.

It seems to be feared by some that if as much as this be conceded to the moral consciousness in man, the attribute of authority is taken away from Christianity and conferred on the human spirit instead; in other words, the human consciousness in all its imperfection, not the Word of God, is constituted arbiter as to the truth. This is, in effect, the objection urged, if I rightly recall his article, by Dr. Patton, and no less by Dr. Behrends. They regard the doctrine that the Christian consciousness is the ultimate criterion of truth as a blow struck at the authority of revelation.

What, then, is the fact of the case as regards this point? We have seen that one who should be called to weigh the truth of Christianity and to decide upon accepting it, would of necessity compare it with his moral consciousness and judge its claims thereby. Even the objective testimony, should he take it fairly into consideration, could not exert its weight independently of the more fundamental argument from the character of the revelation. There is no question as yet of the Christian consciousness; for he is not a Christian, he is only asking whether he ought to become one. But if you suppose him to have decided this question favorably and to have accepted Christianity, then a new fact comes in, the fact, namely, of faith in Christianity as a revelation from God. If this faith be whole-hearted and entire, it involves the casting himself over upon this truth, as something which his consciousness so thoroughly approves that his judgment submits, henceforth, to be controlled by the voice that speaks to him here with divine authority. It is not the leap in the dark of Newman, in his "*Apologia pro sua Vita*," it is rather the self-abandonment of trust; trust in the clearer light and the larger hope. Henceforth, if he be a Roman Catholic, the Church, which affirms the truth of Christianity; if he be a Protestant, the Bible, which reveals that truth,—becomes the fixed and final authority to which he voluntarily and cordially submits.

If he be a Catholic, his troubles are now ended: for the Church will decide all questions for him. I have a friend, a Unitarian, who once said to me, "I think I shall become a Roman Catholic." I asked him, "Why?" He answered, "I want a priest." Many have gone into that Church, allured by the promise of this easier and restful way. It is too easy. Our way as Protestants is harder; we are in danger of making it too hard. The Bible is our authority, we acknowledge it to be such, we ought to make it such; we ought to be principled to believe in it, if indeed we have accepted Christianity, with an unwavering faith. This is of the essence of Christianity; and the man who wakes each morning with the feeling that everything is still an open question is so much too much of a Protestant that he does not deserve to be called a Christian at all.

But whilst the Bible is our authority, and we do honestly recognize it as such, the question still arises, Who is to interpret for us the Bible? Who is to tell us precisely what it means, just what form of words exactly expresses the very truth of Christ himself? Shall it be John Calvin? Shall it be the Westminster Assembly

of Divines? Shall it be Professor Patton? Shall it be Joseph Cook? Shall it be — if I only dared to say it — Andover? Shall it be the last century? Shall it be the century before the last? Shall it be the present century? Shall it be every man under the leader he may choose? Shall it be everybody for himself? I know what the polemic answers who is so deeply hurt by the very suggestion of a common Christian consciousness; he says, "You are simply turning the whole matter into ridicule; none of these is to be an authority to you; the Bible is to be your only authority; you are simply to come to it with an honest mind and interpret it as it plainly means." He may, perhaps, add (or his bearing towards us may add), "That is what I do; I come to the Bible with an unprejudiced mind, and I have no difficulty; do the same and you will arrive at the same result and believe as I believe." If all men were just alike, this would work like a charm; but unhappily (happily, I guess) men are very different, and it does not work at all. Every man's individuality will affect his understanding of the Bible, if he is himself; his circumstances will affect it; the spirit of the age he lives in will affect it. If his trend of thought leads him to adopt some noble man as his master, it is well, and he may be himself in doing so — but there are many masters. If without thought he adopts a master who may chance to be thrown in his way, it is still well, provided his thinking, if he did any, would be worse than nothing, as probably it would; but there are still many masters; and so it is, study the case as you may, many masters, many beliefs.

We have arrived here at the greatest of all the problems raised by Protestantism. We have arrived at that which may fairly be confessed to be the reproach of Protestantism. We have no standard of Scripture interpretations; we have no power clothed with authority to define Christianity: hence the endless divisions and differences.

It used to be said that there was such a thing as orthodoxy, which did furnish an exact standard; a standard which everybody was exceedingly to blame not to accept. But in the course of three centuries of thinking we have become aware that there are many orthodoxies. The orthodoxy of the Church of England is not that of Lutheranism; the orthodoxy of Lutheranism is not that of the Reformed churches. The Methodists have attained to an orthodoxy of their own, and they are not likely to abandon it. It is even true that the orthodoxy of Calvinism, so-called, of today, differs in important particulars from what it was fifty years

ago. And as the result of this discovery, together with the growth of a larger, more intelligent, and more loving spirit, men outside of Russia have pretty much ceased to use the word "orthodox." I notice that in the discussion of such a doctrine as the atonement men of strict old-school views use the word "catholic" instead of the word "orthodox" — the *catholic* view. But that word "catholic," greatly to the credit of their good feeling as it is, will serve them no better in the end; for whilst they might sincerely, as regards their feeling, urge the claim of orthodoxy for their views, they cannot pretend that they are catholic in the sense of representing the belief of the church as a whole, and excluding from "the unity of the faith" those who think differently.¹

This is the state of things in which it is proposed that, instead of the word "orthodox," which involves a vast and offensive assumption, and instead of the word "catholic" which involves a palpable untruth, we should adopt an older, safer, simpler, quite unobjectionable, and it is hoped, when understood, about to become generally acceptable standard, that of the common Christian consciousness, corresponding in theology very nearly to the common-sense standard in philosophy. As to this common Christian consciousness, it will suffice to mark the following things: —

(1.) It is based on the great moral and spiritual intuitions, or the original deliverances of consciousness; and consists largely of these intuitions themselves, clearly apprehended in Christianity, and apprehended in the wide reach of their application.

(2.) Christianity increases the number of intuitive beliefs in this way, that it suggests truths which when recognized are intuitively accepted by the human mind, but which had not been, perhaps would never be, recognized otherwise than in Christianity. Thus Reid counts this among the moral intuitions: "To every man who believes the existence, the perfections, and the providence of God, the veneration and submission we owe to Him is self-evident." To this it may be added, it is self-evident in the same way that if we believe the perfections of God as revealed in Christianity, and that we are made in his likeness, the divine standard of character must be accepted as our standard.

(3.) Many inferences follow so closely from these intuitive beliefs that they become a part of our moral consciousness, though by

¹ It is not of course denied that there is such a thing as catholic doctrine, in the sense of articles of belief accepted by the body of evangelical Christian believers generally; but only that the points in question are rightly covered by that word.

a logical process ; and this results especially from the comparing of differing data of consciousness. Thus, take our duty to be like God in the love displayed, under various forms, in Christ ; take also the natural dignity inherent in every man ; and in the light of these truths view our duties towards others, and many things, both truths and duties, become clear as they would not otherwise.

(4.) It is evident that truths, volitions, feelings, duties are involved together in the Christian consciousness, and that these, while capable of being separated in thought, are in fact blended in one complex experience ; and in this respect the Christian consciousness resembles the Bible, and is more likely to be true to the Bible than any mere theology is.

(5.) Hence also the Christian experiences of men of opposite and jarring sects are likely to be more nearly alike than are their creeds.

(6.) We are still more likely to arrive at substantial unity if we examine the lives of those, everywhere, of all different creeds, both from among the educated and the lowly, who enter most deeply into the truth and spirit of Christianity, are most moulded by these, and best exemplify them.

(7.) What is properly meant by the common Christian consciousness is the Christian experience commonly found in persons of this class. It is not the aggregate of all Christian experiences, it is the particular facts, traits, tendencies of thought, beliefs, that mark, on the whole, those who seem to be the more genuine among Christian people, the choicer spirits ; and which come thus, with the progress of Christianity, to be more and more recognized by everybody as the truly Christian ways of acting, thinking, and feeling.

(8.) The common Christian consciousness, in this sense of it, is continually modifying the beliefs of Christendom ; and has, in fact, rendered impossible, any longer, the acceptance of dogmas that have been quite generally received within as recent a period as since the Reformation. A volume, and a very instructive one, might be written in development and confirmation of this fact. It is enough to refer to such dogmas as our sinning *in* Adam, the damnation of non-elect infants, the suffering by Christ of the exact (identical) retribution for sin in the sinner's stead, the torturing of the lost in a material hell. The fact that these doctrines have been held by very earnest Christian men against their Christian feeling, under the supposed necessity of an accepted system of Christian truths, is not more instructive than the further

fact that the development of the Christian consciousness has rendered such beliefs by sweet-hearted Christian people no longer possible.

(9.) This process will continue to go on in the future as it has in the past, whether we permit it or not; it counts the ages past and must count the ages to come as on its side. Sir William Hamilton has given a list of over one hundred philosophers¹ — a list which includes almost every greatest name in that science — who consciously or unconsciously have acknowledged that common sense is the true standard in philosophical dogma; meaning by common sense the consensus of those most fully imbued with the spirit of philosophical inquiry; so all the ages are on the side of the Christian consciousness as the test of true religious opinion.

(10.) The practical difficulty in the application of this test is fully conceded, and especially the impossibility of any definite immediate dogmatic application of it. The appeal to Christian consciousness is an appeal, not chiefly an argument; for what is any man's assertion worth that his presentation of truth is in accordance with the belief and feeling of the universal church in their purest manifestations? Each one will take the liberty to judge for himself whether this is so; nor will his sympathies fail materially to affect him in the decision he will form. But if an increasing number, and among them many of the more Christly among Christians are found, in process of time, accepting the test, then the appeal begins to have the force of an argument. For example, on the 25th of May, 1831, at a meeting of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, John McLeod Campbell was deposed from the ministry by a vote of 119 to 6, on account chiefly of his views upon the doctrine of the Atonement. In strongly urging this vote the moderator appealed to the church of the future, an appeal which Campbell was not unwilling to allow.² Time has answered that appeal. To-day, while not accepting his views in their totality, the great writers, not only Protestant but Catholic,³ acknowledge the saintly spirit of Dr. Campbell's book on

¹ Hamilton's Reid, p. 742.

² Thomas Erskine tells the story, as nearly as I remember, thus: "The moderator in his haste declared, 'These doctrines will live a thousand years, when those of the Church of Scotland will have been forgotten,' meaning, of course, to say the exact opposite. Campbell turned to a friend, with the remark: 'This spake he not of himself, but being high priest that year he prophesied.'"

³ For a Catholic testimony consult Oxenham's *Catholic Doctrine of the Atonement*. See, also, Oxenham's quotation from one of J. H. Newman's *Village Sermons*, which must have been inspired by Campbell.

"The Nature of the Atonement," together with the invaluable contribution he has made to the thought of the church on that subject; and to-day no General Assembly, or other assembly of any church in Christendom, thank God, would vote to depose McLeod Campbell from the ministry. This is the work of the development of the general consciousness (the conscience we might call it in this instance) of the church.

(11.) I venture to say, finally, that the general Christian consciousness as defined can be safely relied on to prove itself in the end to be not so much the facile instrument of any new theology as the steady force by which whatever is important in the old is to be conserved. Our brethren of the new departure are making their appeal to it; they can do no less, though they might have done it less consciously. This is, in reality, what every teacher of Christian truth does. Are my words to stand forever because they are mine; or are they to abide the judgment of the Christian world? So with our brethren. If their views are opposed to any great principles of truth imbedded deep in Scripture and in the conscience of the church (and let no man hastily decide this question), then the very appeal they have made will undo them — just as, if they are honest men, they desire it should; for the doctrine of the church will continue to stand long after many new departures shall have proved themselves to be departures and shall have departed finally.

Meanwhile, if there be any true catholicity, is it not here? and if there be any hope of a final, generally-accepted orthodoxy, where is it more likely to be found? It is a great way to look forward, and the journey will be slow; but if kindly Christian feeling should grow for a few centuries longer, as it has during the last half century, and if doctrine should come more and more to be tested by the general consciousness of the church, and made to be coördinate with the church's life, then surely we need not despair of ultimate substantial unity, not in life merely, but in life and doctrine both.

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EDITORIAL

CHRISTIANITY AND ITS MODERN COMPETITORS.

IV. THE WORTH AND WELFARE OF THE INDIVIDUAL.

THOSE who have read the preceding articles in this series will have perceived that the study of social theories leads back in every case to the individual. While investigation starts properly enough with society as a whole, it is evident that inquiry must push back to the persons who compose society. In order to understand the great social unity there must be knowledge of the unit which is the ultimate factor in the complex organism. The moral evolution of society, the ethics of utility, and theories of humanitarianism, as they were successively considered, were found, on analysis, to involve the facts and forces of personality. These discussions come now, therefore, to more distinct consideration of the individual. The person must be satisfied in accordance with his constitution and value, in order that society may realize its true ends. And theories which would supersede Christianity in respect to the needs of society must also show their fitness to secure the welfare of the individual according to his worth. Man is in society, it is true, and may seek the ends of his life only in relation with others; but even so his ideal is personal, and can be realized, not by general conditions among which all men stand, but only by his own appropriation of that which makes him a true man. The task set before any religion or ethics is greater when the worth and welfare of the person are to be realized than when results in society, on the side of pleasure, usefulness, or humaneness, are to be secured. It is not true, of course, that the personal and social spheres are ever independent of each other. But the state of society, at a given time, is but the general condition, more or less favorable, under which the individual can realize his own welfare and can aid others in the endeavor to realize their welfare. The magnitude of the task does not, however, dishearten those who have been found proposing substitutes for Christianity in the development of society. They are quite as ready as before, and, if that were possible, more eager than ever to offer something in place of religion. For the satisfaction, welfare, and improvement of the individual they confidently propose other than religious objects. There are pursuits open in the life of to-day, and in conditions available for all, which provide a satisfying use of powers and promise desirable results. Either directly by maintaining or indirectly by assuming their sufficiency, these pursuits are offered in place of the religious life. The advantages promised may be obtained, indeed, in conjunction with belief in Christianity, but are attainable equally well, if not better, independently of personal adherence to the gospel of Christ. It is not denied that Christianity has had much to do with producing a state of society in

which these pursuits are open, but it does not follow that one must personally be a disciple of Jesus in order to avail himself of the benefits which the gospel in part has procured, any more than, because the natural sciences have given facilities to enterprise and progress, one must personally be a chemist or an electrician in order to avail himself of the benefits of useful discoveries.

I. Whether or not the individual can realize his worth and promote his true welfare without the religious aim can best be determined by exploring those departments of action in which it is maintained he can find his satisfaction, develop his character, and render his service to society. These departments may be designated — partly as Lotze, for another purpose, enumerated them — as the Industrial, Intellectual (including both knowledge and culture), Æsthetic, and Political. If this is not a comprehensive classification, it will serve sufficiently for purposes of illustration. Some of these pursuits open a career, some satisfy the energies, some refine the powers, some render service to others, or they combine such results. Taken together, they might be called “secularism.” We shall attempt to show that any one who engages in these pursuits must bring to them a conception or ideal of himself and an aim directed towards some ultimate object, and that the ideal and aim are not given by the pursuits themselves, but must be derived from other sources. It will therefore be argued that these pursuits cannot take the place of Christianity, since they are but auxiliaries or means for realizing that ideal and fulfilling that aim which Christianity alone provides. In other words, it will be maintained that the pursuits about to be examined have no absolute and intrinsic, but only a relative value, that their use depends on the aim of the person who engages in them, and that personal worth and personal welfare can be determined only by religious standards, which each one needs to adopt intelligently.

The *industrial* pursuits first attract attention. A commonly accepted generalization is expressed in the phrase that in modern as compared with ancient times work has taken the place of war. A gradual change in sentiment has accompanied this transition. In some parts of the world labor is considered not degrading but honorable. Some kinds of labor are respected even where other kinds are despised. In democracies it is almost a disgrace not to have a productive occupation. By degrees many of the undignified will pass over into the dignified forms of work. As they extend their dominion, manufacture, commerce, and trade will command a wider respect. Toil is apostrophized in song, and labor is idealized in verses composed in honor of the forge, the plough, the loom, the launching of the ship. Among the agencies which have hastened human progress none apparently is entitled to so much credit as industry, with the enterprise it develops. The immense scale on which the industrial pursuits proceed, the magnitude of mercantile projects, the ease with which commerce overcomes distance and obstacles, call out untiring admiration. The individual finds in his own business, or in

combinations with others which spread schemes all over the globe, an inviting arena for his activities. The occupations of production and exchange give scope for the highest order of ability and the most restless energy. Many engage in business less for the gain than for the absorbing interest of laying broad plans, entering into complicated coöperations, studying the thousand movements which affect every personal scheme, acting promptly in emergencies, and anticipating the acts of others, from the combinations of discontented laborers to the enactments of Congress or the outbreak of European wars. Other objects are, to provide the means of enjoyment and luxury, or to have power socially and politically. So many devote life to business, seeking no ends beyond those which have been described, and cultivating only such virtues as are required for the security of industry, that practically, and in some cases theoretically, the industrial pursuits are considered the sufficient satisfaction of the individual who engages in them.

Yet under the most favorable conditions, when success on a wide scale is secured, certain questions pertaining to character instantly arise. Are there not dangers in the absorption of energies and in the very success? Does not engrossing devotion to business engender pride, contempt, coarseness, indifference to the hardships of unfortunate persons? Is not the mercantilism which is a chief characteristic of the century a distinct and growing peril? These questions have in view personal character, which is estimated by considerations apart from and above the secular pursuit. If it is said that the wealthy merchant can devote part of his gains to benevolent schemes, and thus promote other objects besides industrial enterprises and material comforts, then again higher uses of life are in view. But take the other extreme of actual manual labor, of work in its first contact with raw material, where the rewards of toil are scanty and existence is scarcely maintained, where the satisfaction of employment is little and the dangers to character are great, where personality is well-nigh crushed out and man is almost a machine, and now it cannot be maintained that one's occupation may be trusted to secure his true welfare according to his worth. It must be known who the person is in the occupation, what his purposes are, what he brings to his pursuit, as well as what he gets from it. The occupation, no matter how important, is relative to the character and aims of the man. It is a means to some end. With only its own standards and objects, it is more fruitful of dangers than of benefits. It threatens to defeat the true ends of a man's life. We are driven out of this sphere very quickly when we attempt to ascertain in what the worth of the individual consists and how his welfare may be secured. He may come into it with the correct ideal and aim to find it helpful and even necessary, but many things must be taken into account before he can venture out confidently in any industrial calling.

Intellectual pursuits are tacitly supposed to furnish satisfaction to those who engage in them. No apology is needed in these times for the

devotion of life to acquisition of knowledge. It is a sufficient explanation of one's purpose, that he is known to be a student in any of the great fields of learning. The refinings of culture, which are incident in intellectual attainment, are thought to be the ripest product of modern life. The man of varied attainments and of finished culture has a poise of bearing, a quiet self-direction, a superiority to local and temporary standards, which give the impression of symmetry and of power. It scarcely occurs to others to ask about his religious beliefs. Whatever opinions he may hold he is not violent, either in his advocacy or opposition, but always moderate, patient, and tolerant. Why, then, may not intellectual pursuits take the place of Christianity in the development of character, the satisfaction of the highest powers, and the service of society?

But analysis shows that the pursuit of knowledge, in the realm either of the sciences or of the humanities, has relative, not absolute, value, and that the criteria of its sufficiency must be gained from other sources.

When study is directed towards the physical world, the results are of three kinds. There is, first, the discovery of certain practical utilities of comfort and convenience. The forces of nature, through mechanical contrivances and ingenious appliances, are brought into the service of man. This result of the knowledge of natural forces is obviously only an extension of the industrial sphere, and raises the same questions as before, relative to the uses man makes of that which he produces or acquires.

Another result of study of the natural sciences is the desire to obtain exhaustive knowledge for its own sake. The student becomes enamored of the subjects of his investigation, and can be satisfied only with knowing all that can be known in his department of study. Even when the provinces of scientific research are subdivided, he sees that the least of them requires a lifetime of diligent study for its intelligent exploration. The enthusiasm which is kindled is kept alive by the occasional discovery of hitherto unknown facts. The science or branch of a science which one pursues is the mistress of his life, and in devotion to her he is completely satisfied. An object often found associated with such zeal is the ambition to make a reputation and to become an authority on some subject, however unimportant. But, again, it must be noted that, in themselves, these are not worthy objects for the devotion of a life. It is true that no fact of nature should be deemed unimportant, and that knowledge must be specialized if observation in so wide a field is to be accurate; yet if the man himself is nothing but a specialist, merely a microscope with intelligence enough to register its own observations, he is only a tool used by some larger mind that can group the minutiae of discovery in various fields under comprehensive laws. When the principal aim is to make a reputation, there is the gratification of vanity, or an estimate of one's place in society, and new relations of personality are in view, involving criteria quite independent

of the intellectual pursuit. Also, admiration of a learned man suffers some abatement when it is seen that ambition is his ruling motive; and disapproval signifies the recognition of standards outside his attainments which determine what are and what are not worthy motives, even in a man of exceptional learning.

A third result of knowledge in the natural sciences is to gain light on some of the ultimate problems of thought, such as the origin of the universe, the evidences of intelligence in its phenomena, the final cause which rules its evolution, its relation to the Absolute. The popular interest which is taken in the physical sciences pertains chiefly to these associated problems. Is knowledge of the laws of nature to undermine belief in the supernatural, or to confirm faith? On the answer to this question depends the continuance or surrender of belief in God and immortality, and consequently, also, opinions concerning the powers, worth, welfare, and destiny of the individual. If the conclusion reached is adverse to religious beliefs, then the use man makes of his span of life is of comparatively little consequence. The further pursuit of scientific knowledge may be his best satisfaction, or the deliverance of men from superstitions may be his greatest pleasure. His temperament and tastes may be allowed to decide. He will not propose scientific studies as the worthy, much less as the obligatory, pursuit of others. No object remains but to get through life as comfortably as possible, and to make it less difficult for others to get through comfortably. No motive exists to propose a rule of life which should take the place of Christianity. On the other hand, if the conclusion drawn from knowledge of nature is favorable to religious beliefs, then, also, standards of absolute worth and objects of moral endeavor are given. And if Christianity is retained there is no occasion to find a substitute for it. Or if the conclusion is that it is impossible to have any settled opinion concerning God, the soul, and immortality, and there is only a confused state of mind, suspense of judgment concerning Christianity until there can be further investigation, the suspicion that there are many remaining difficulties in the way of conviction, there evidently can be no answer to questions which relate to the obligatory uses of life. Belief in Christianity may be shaken or even destroyed, but there is no motive to choose one pursuit rather than another with the expectation that any absolute good, desirable by all, is to be secured. One will only drift on, and employ himself as fancy or predilection may incline. Certainly he will not prescribe to another pursuits by which the true ends of life may be realized; for he does not know what the true ends are, or that one result is better than another. The skeptic may oppose and the agnostic reject Christianity, but neither of them has the slightest imaginable motive to propose substitutes which shall realize the worth of all, and scarcely a motive to formulate a theory of life which shall comprehend the various ends for which men actually do strive.

No one needs to be reminded that study of the sciences is for the few

and cannot be offered as a substitute for religion to the many who have neither the ability nor the time for intellectual pursuits.

When intellectual pursuits have to do with study of the humanities, and one explores literature, history, philosophy, engaging himself thus with the action and the thinking of men, he is moving on a higher range than when he is devoted to the study of physical nature, and in such studies may find a keen satisfaction. But the mere knowledge of what men and nations have done, the appreciation of poems, dramas, philosophies, and acquaintance with the geniuses of the world, have value only as such acquisitions help one to understand the significance of human life, the ideals and aims which are worthy of men, the sentiments which correspond to the moral value of the individual and of society. He learns what others have done or are doing; he learns what passions are deeply planted in human nature; he learns what motives animate the noblest deeds; he learns what conduct is praiseworthy; he learns what movements constitute human progress. Instead of being shut in among the few persons of his immediate acquaintance and knowing the outside world only through the newspaper, he communes with the gifted minds of other countries and centuries, and thus makes up his judgment of life, character, and destiny. By such knowledge he learns to distinguish false from true welfare, badness from goodness, stagnation or decadence from progress. These studies are not in themselves the worthy pursuits of life; for they chiefly serve to show what the ideal is, to incite aspiration and to strengthen the worthy aim. They do not constitute the part one should play, but make clearer to him what his part shall be. They are teachers and examples to him as he tries to learn the lesson of life. Such studies are more likely to expose the folly of aims which are not Christian than to destroy faith in religion. If they are pursued only to learn the technique of writers, to study the art of composition and the literary method, nothing is gained but a professional knowledge, which has no doubt a certain value, and may even serve the main object of grasping the thought as it lay in the author's mind. But the real purpose of literary studies is to learn the motives, aims, worth, and satisfaction of life. This result is culture, which is more than finished expression, refinement of speech and style, a peculiar tone of thought, a subtle flavor of intellectuality, although it includes such fineness of mental texture, and which is certainly more than acquisitions of knowledge arranged in order on the shelves of the mind obedient to the hand of the librarian, memory. Culture is insight. It groups as well as accumulates knowledge, finding the principles which give coherence to facts. It is responsive to truth in its living, influential forms. It distinguishes reality from appearance, the ideal from the literal, the spiritual from the material. It is the joint product of intellect and character. It might be defined as character with the refinements of mental discipline. Culture is always both intellectual and moral. Knowledge alone may be rubbish actually impeding motion and overmastering its possessor. It could

never be said of a person of culture that he knows seven languages perfectly and can say nothing worth listening to in any of them. Fine character alone is not culture, but there can be no culture without it. Our contention, then, is that the satisfaction of life, so far as it may be found in intellectual pursuits, arises from the light they shed on the goal and the path of right living, and the impulse they give for realizing worthily the ideal of nobleness. Whether or not the welfare of life is promoted by learning and culture depends on the purposes one brings to them and the use he makes of them. He needs to have worthy objects in order to assimilate from them what they can yield for the satisfaction of life. Intellectual powers are for worthy services, and not merely that they may be refined and polished. Although blades cut the better for not being rusty, they are not made to glitter, but to cut clean strokes.

It is also apparent that these studies are for the few, and that the mass of struggling humanity cannot take them in place of the gospel. Even in the case of those who can explore these inviting realms, a large fraction of their own needs cannot thus be provided for. The practical duties, the wearing anxieties, the bitter temptations, the spiritual aspirations, which are absent from no life, call for that which intellectual attainments and refinements are powerless to supply. Inquiry is forced back, again, from the pursuit to the person. It must be ascertained from other sources what his worth, ideal, and welfare are, before the admission can be made that learning and culture are enough for man's satisfaction.

A similar course of reflection is followed when analysis is made of the other pursuits which have been mentioned. The cultivation of *aesthetic* tastes should not be an end in itself, but a means to other ends. Art must express something. It must reflect and idealize life, thought, and truth. The artist, whether painter or poet, must be many-sided. He does not photograph nature, but he reveals the symbolism which is in nature. The landscapes of Claude Lorraine in color, the landscapes of Wordsworth in verse, suggest that beauty which is the "splendor of truth." They are more than pictures on the retina. They awaken thoughts in the mind and emotions in the soul. An artist must be more than an artist. He must be a thinker and a moralist. The man who grinds colors may be little more than a color-grinder, but the man who lays the colors upon canvas must mix ideals with them. So he must have convictions pertaining to the kind of life beauty should minister to. He must make correct assumptions concerning man's real worth and proper ends. What is true of the painter is true of the poet who shapes his ideals into permanent form by the use of language, a medium almost as spiritual as his thought. Those who do not produce but enjoy works of art should expect from them uplifting of soul. With pure enjoyment may go some critical analysis, which has its place; yet the object of art is not that it may be critically estimated, but that it may hold up ideals. And criticism itself is superficial unless it passes beneath tech-

nique to the inner motive of a work of art. The question whether art, painting, poetry, and romance, have to do with morality can receive but one answer. They need not deal with moral themes as their subjects, but must appeal to the totality of man's powers, and therefore to moral character, and to the totality of life, which often appears in moral situations.

Music is addressed, it is now agreed, to the emotions rather than to the intellect. It supplies emotional excitement, and must, therefore, be enjoyed in moderation lest the moral tone be weakened. When it is seen that nearly all lovers of music are in danger of excessive devotion to the art, it is plain that the true ends of life are not identical with the enjoyment of music, which should take its place and be kept in its place as one of the auxiliaries of the moral ideal. In order that the many may enjoy music some must make it a business, but professional musicians are aware that they are in much danger of losing vigor of character and indeed of intellect, if not of losing also that fineness of æsthetic feeling without which their music can have no "soul." If music is to be enjoyed by the lovers of it only as a recreation, which is doubtless its principal use, it then serves as a refreshment or a rest, so that the real purposes of life may be more successfully accomplished. All amusements fall into the same subordinate place. Men and women do not lead a certain kind of life in order that they may amuse themselves, but are amused at times in order that they may be stronger to lead a worthy life. Every one admits that the right and wrong of amusements can be decided only in relation to the main purpose which determines the business of one's life.

The *political* arena offers to men of superior talents an inviting field of effort. But they should enter it with settled convictions in respect to their own worth and in respect to the worth and welfare of men who make up the nation. To gain a passing notoriety is unworthy. The political aspirant reflects the correctness of the public judgment that officials should render service, when he is careful to profess to be a servant of the people. He knows that service is of more value than reputation, which is properly earned only by important service. The object of political life should be to promote the welfare of society, and there must therefore be an intelligent perception of the ideal of society. Public prosperity should promote public morals. Prosperity and morality together open the way for individuals to realize their highest worth and true welfare. Unless the politician has such objects in view he is almost certain to degrade his own character and forfeit self-respect. The mere publicity and excitement of political life, then, do not demonstrate that it is an intrinsic good. The character of the man and the service he proposes to render in his chosen sphere determine the use of the pursuit. From other sources he gains his ideal both of himself and of his fellow-citizens.

We have followed the individual into these several pursuits because

it is believed by many and argued by some that the satisfaction of life may be found in these directions. The industrial enterprises of modern times, the acquisition of knowledge and the refinements of culture, the cultivation of æsthetic tastes, the enjoyment of classical music, the activity and publicity of politics, offer satisfactory pursuits to the individual and, it is argued, must promote his welfare ; for the progress of society is along these lines. But when we think a little, it becomes evident that indiscriminate engagement in these pursuits will not make them means of good, and that the choice of them at the dictate of tastes or temperament will not make them conducive to welfare. To be proper pursuits they must be properly used. To be sources of real satisfaction they must be dominated by an ulterior aim. They must be means to an end. If the individual is to find satisfaction in them, it must be according to his worth, and some position must first be taken concerning those ends of life in the realization of which alone he can be satisfied. The person is to be distinguished from his pursuit. When the maxim has been quoted, "Blessed is the man who has found his work," one is reminded, not only that absorbing occupation is better than idleness, but also that appropriate is better than uncongenial or ill-adapted occupation, and thus really that the person is blessed only when he finds the occupation which promotes the true ends of his being. Certainly, from the pursuit itself one cannot learn the proper aims of his life. But while a well-chosen pursuit gives contentment, for it is a means to the right end, it is only a means, and one perceives that the maxim is more profound which declares that "the man is above his work : " —

"Not on the vulgar mass
Called 'work,' must sentence pass,
Things done, that took the eye and had the price ;
O'er which, from level stand,
The low world laid its hand,
Found straightway to its mind, could value in a trice :

"But all, the world's coarse thumb
And finger failed to plumb,
So passed in making up the main account ;
All instincts immature,
All purposes unsure,
That weighed not as his work, yet swelled the man's amount."

It appears, then, even before the Christian conception of the worth and welfare of the individual is examined, that the pursuits which modern times open cannot in themselves provide intrinsic good. A philosophy of life must be adopted before it can be known what outward activities and intellectual employments will serve the supreme purposes of the individual. We are led on in our inquiry, then, to ascertain the worth and welfare of personality, and shall perceive that Christianity alone exalts worth and promotes welfare, yet by means of the pursuits which invite the activities of men in modern times.

II. What is the final object of the great agencies already considered? What is the function in society of those departments of action through which nearly all energy flows? Work, knowledge, culture, art, politics, have, for their final object, men. Their function is to produce improved personality. When a buried city is explored, and one sees all the signs of throbbing life,—implements as they fell from the hand of the workman, seats as they were arranged for a feast or for a spectacle,—and notes the point to which the useful and æsthetic arts had advanced, he knows that judgment of the city must be upon the persons who thronged its streets and palaces, and in view of the virtues and vices of princes, the condition of slaves, the position of women, and in general the simplicity or effeminacy, the moral health or corruption, of the people. Granting that the improvement effected by that city and by similar cities in respect to arts and sciences was handed on to the following period of antiquity, still the value of the legacy would be judged in turn by the quality of social and personal life to which it was made tributary, and so the entire development of an ancient civilization must be judged. When a future generation looks back on the appliances and activities of this century,—its railroads, factories, residences, literature, galleries, orchestras, and legislatures,—judgment will be passed on the product rather than on the mechanism, and the product is national and individual character. Granting that the mechanism of to-day is a stage in the evolution of a superior mechanism, so that by reason of what is done now there will follow swifter locomotion, finer fabrics, statelier houses, nobler literature, more splendid galleries, more magnificent orchestras, and wiser legislatures,—still, the value of the later result will be judged by the character of the men who can travel more swiftly, live more luxuriously, gain a finer culture, and appreciate a purer art.

Then, how, in a given period, is character or personality to be estimated? By man's absolute worth, in accordance with which he is an end to be served, never a means to be used, and by adopting moral and religious aims through which he has blessedness, which is superior to mere happiness. If the individual has not absolute worth as an immortal being, and has no higher end than enjoyment, not only is it a matter of indifference what he attempts, but also all moral sanctions, all intrinsic rights, the imperative of duty, and ultimately all social coherence, disappear. The practical philosophy which emerges could be epitomized in the maxim, "Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die." French cooking, delicious music, beautiful paintings and statuary, brilliant wit, knowledge of nature leading to atheism, knowledge of men leading to pessimism, the joy of amassing and spending colossal fortunes, and of having power over others,—with these the palate would be stimulated in its diversified eating and drinking. Life would be given up to enjoyment, with only such maintenance of a social order and such coöperation with others as would give security for one's own delights. To be sure, subjects for art and literature would become sensual, for lofty ideals

would cease to exist, and power over men and over nature would be used chiefly to procure delicacies and luxuries from all parts of the globe, so that, after all, the French cooking could stand as representative of all the pleasures. Society would revert towards savagery. Powerful men would be despots, the rest of the world slaves.

Christianity alone gives the ideal of the individual's worth and the satisfaction of his welfare. We have portrayed in previous articles the Christian ideal of character and conduct which is set before society, and have shown that the duty one owes his neighbors is determined by their worth and rights. In like manner the duty he owes himself is ascertained. His worth is known when he perceives that he is a child of God and destined for immortality. His welfare and duty are known when he perceives that the social ideal is the kingdom of God on earth and that he is to seek that kingdom under the law of love. The ideal of character is made distinct in the person of Jesus, and the kingdom has already developed so far that its characteristics are familiar.

Having the ideals and aims of Christianity one can use the pursuits above described so as to promote those high objects. His industry or business may give largest scope for the development of his own Christian character, and may also afford opportunity for rendering needed service. From the gains of business he may directly sustain the preaching of the gospel. The acquisitions of knowledge, the refinings of culture, the appreciation of art and music, may all be made tributary to a Christian development of the person and of society. Christianity presents learning, culture, and art as gifts to be used, but to be used with direction towards a worthy end. Even the gifts of rain and sunshine, which are bestowed on all, must be guided towards an object. A bed of pansies or a field of wheat has personality in it. "Behold the husbandman waiteth for the precious fruit of the earth, being patient over it, until it receive the early and latter rain."

It is a mistake to suppose that because industrial, intellectual, artistic, and political pursuits are indispensable to social progress, therefore engaging in them must bring good to the individual. The right aim must be brought in among any circumstances to make the use of them right. This or that person may get nothing but moral harm out of an occupation. Apparent success may debase, as well as exalt. Social forces and conditions, like physical, are to be used at their advantage and for an end. Whether or not a wind is favorable depends on the steering. Emerson's mill-wheel, to be turned by the rising and receding tide, and thus by the aid of the moon, must be rightly adjusted to the changing current. If it is submerged in the waters it comes to a standstill. As the wheel must be partly out of the water in order to be turned by the water, so man must be partly above his pursuit in order to get power from it for his proper work. In order that I may hitch my wagon to a star, I must have chosen my direction and must be sure that the star is going my way. Great social forces, strong currents of culture, and gen-

eral progress may sweep one against the breakers; only by intelligent navigation can one be brought to his desired haven. Indispensable conditions never act of themselves, and seldom act alone. No one, indeed, is independent of circumstances. He is in the material and social world, whether he wills or not. But the difference between using circumstances and letting circumstances use him is the difference between success and failure in regard to the principal objects of life.

Under all circumstances Christianity gives a distinct and worthy aim. With its ideals before him one knows how to choose and use pursuits. Sometimes, indeed, the aim to realize immortal worth and to advance the kingdom of God creates antagonism to culture, art, amusements, and some of the legitimate industries. But even so the high aim is kept in view, and the man is not submerged in worldliness. The religious aim sometimes produces indifference to all that is secular. Even if the pursuits by which livelihood and fortune, or by which cultivation and diversion are obtained, are not condemned, they are so far as possible ignored. Time devoted to work is grudged, and social demands are reluctantly recognized as subtracting so much energy from religious purposes. But even so, the immortal worth of the individual is kept distinct before the eyes of others. It is the wisdom, however, of the present age to utilize secular and social pursuits to the advantage of character and of the kingdom of God. The risks of disproportionate interest in occupation, studies, social pleasures and public affairs are more than outweighed by the immense gain of converting business, culture, art, and legislation into allies of Christian life and Christian society. When the right aim is brought into all callings and pursuits they promote the ends which they otherwise threaten to frustrate. Culture and aesthetic taste are graceful, like steam floating away in beautiful shapes as it rises from an open boiler; they become mighty forces for personality and for society when they are directed into channels of Christian service, like steam when it is imprisoned and guided.

The church is rapidly learning that many of the social and secular conditions of the present time are providential arrangements in the use of which the kingdom of God can be advanced. It is a losing and a foolish battle to expend energy upon the attempt to force outward conditions into forms which they took in an earlier period, so that amusements, occupations, studies, and fashions shall have the simplicity which marked them in the colonial, the Puritan, or even the apostolic times. In some of those periods society was not as far nor as well advanced as now. What is admired as simplicity was, it may be, mere crudity. Before enterprise had brought remote countries together the gospel was hindered by lack of knowledge and of interest in distant peoples. Culture, art, and learning crowd out provincial by cosmopolitan range of sympathy, and have affinity with the world-wide scope of the gospel. When the church has expended her strength on preserving, in society, business, and religion itself, the externals of the past, she has sadly wasted her powers. Her

wisdom is to accept those existing conditions which are not intrinsically wrong, and within them to do her service for man and society. It is God's method to realize progress in the concrete forms of actual and contemporary life. He does not allow his people to settle down contented upon that which the past has made customary, but summons them to go forward into the ever-changing present, with wakefulness to perceive and alertness to seize the new opportunity. Those who, when among the Greeks, are, like the apostle, intent on saving some, may likewise imitate him in graceful adaptation, and may encourage Grecian culture instead of insisting upon the somewhat ascetic sternness of Judaism or the crudity of barbarian customs.

The religious aim alone gives the golden mean between conformity and independence. Society opens pursuits, and prescribes a fashion of culture, business, and amusement. Without a definite and worthy aim one drifts on in conformity, doing as others do, and loses independence. He begins with individuality, is unique with some distinctive originality of his own, but becomes like others for want of a worthy aim. "Born as originals," says Bishop Martensen, "we die as imitations." The Christian man practices conformity when it promotes or does not conflict with his worth and welfare and service, but has a standard above the existing fashion of society which marks out the course of a quiet independence. To replace slavish conformity by such an independence, is, in Scriptural language, to be born again, to put off the old man and to put on the new man. It is the radical change from search of temporary good to pursuit of absolute and immortal well-being. For many persons the moral revolution from false to true aims consists, not in forsaking old and choosing new pursuits, but simply in putting accustomed pursuits out of a primary into a secondary place among the great interests of life.

We will not take space to characterize the vagueness of personal aims which are proposed in place of Christianity. All the pursuits which have been mentioned are commended because, in one way or another, they promise happiness. But happiness, as we have shown in previous discussions, is a vague object. It has no definite standards applicable to all men. It depends on the person more than on the pursuit. It must be more than happiness in order to be happiness. Worthy aims must control, and happiness must be incidental. It seldom comes by seeking it. When the ideal of welfare becomes so distinct it is narrow and sordid. One who puts his philosophy of life, as he says, into a nutshell has a bad philosophy. He is found always to be an egoist, a selfish lover of pleasure. His very altruism is egoistic. The substitutes for Christianity — industrial, æsthetic, intellectual, political — enforce only the duty of seeking happiness in some narrow, selfish way. The gospel of recreation, the gospel of culture, the gospel of work, make the search after happiness imperative. But can one seriously doubt which side of the antithesis he ought to choose when he is comparing the duty of happiness with the happiness of duty? For, after all, if without the religious aim one

seeks in pleasure, learning, art, enterprise, leadership, the satisfaction of life according to its worth, he must agree to the reflections of Faust as he soliloquizes in his laboratory, he must echo the wise man's refrain of "vanity of vanities," he must come into sympathy with pessimistic theories, and must be agnostic concerning God, immortality, and the ends which society should realize.

Spheres of action and of enjoyment are open, indeed, and a great liberty is offered to occupy them. But, after some experiment made, one may well sigh for authority and direction. What ails the modern age is not the want of liberty, but the want of authority. Those who, being weary of trying to think for themselves, turn to a church which offers to think for them; those who, like Huxley, wish they could be wound up like a clock and warranted to go right; those who, even in relinquishing their old faiths, do so with a sigh of regret,—testify to the need of an authoritative standard of conduct and a supreme master of the soul. Without such standards and leadership unrest cannot be removed, nor welfare correspond to worth. A satisfying pursuit must secure imperishable results, and this can be only in that society which is the kingdom of God and which shall not pass away.

For his own sake one must work for men in love. The little he can do has its own value because it enters into the growths of that society which is eternal, but its most direct good is to himself, because love is the law of a true life. As Mr. Mallock has his preacher say, it is "more important to every man that he should do his utmost for humanity than it can be to humanity that any man should do his utmost for it." The mass of toiling millions is so great that the greatest men can do but little for it; but what any one does under the law of Christian love, being worthy of him, secures his own true welfare. The cup of cold water given for the Master's sake does not lose its reward.

Again we come to the conclusion, in view of the pursuits which promise so rich returns, that man does not exist for the sake of his work, but to realize in it the ideal of his own immortal worth, which is made distinct and inspiring under the gospel. He is blessed in his work or calling only if he is above his outward work. Let us listen again to Browning as his Rabbi Ben Ezra glorifies the metaphor of the potter's wheel into the philosophy of human worth and use:—

"Earth changes, but thy soul and God stand sure :
What entered into thee,
That was, is, and shall be :
Time's wheel runs back or stops ; Potter and clay endure.

"He fixed thee mid this dance
Of plastic circumstance,
This Present, thou, forsooth, wouldst fain arrest:
Machinery just meant
To give thy soul its bent,
Try thee and turn thee forth, sufficiently impressed.

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"Look thou not down, but up !
To uses of a cup,
The festal board, lamp's flash, and trumpet's peal,
The new wine's foaming flow,
The Master's lips aglow !
Thou, heaven's consummate cup, what needst thou with earth's wheel ?

"So take and use Thy work,
Amend what flaws may lurk,
What strain o' the stuff, what warpings past the aim !
My times be in Thy hand !
Perfect the cup as planned !
Let age approve of youth, and death complete the same."

THE "INDEPENDENT" ON FUTURE PROBATION.

THE New York "Independent" of March 17 publishes an article by Professor George P. Fisher, on Future Probation and Foreign Missions, which is made the occasion for a lengthy editorial on the same general subject. Both articles are characterized by marked ability, and by a dignified and serious temper befitting the importance of the theme. Neither of these writers accepts the theory of a future probation for the heathen. But while Professor Fisher argues that the theory is permissible, since it conflicts with no evangelical doctrine and is not contradicted by Scripture, and that it is entirely harmless even in relation to missions, the writer of the editorial article argues that the theory is inadmissible because destitute of Scriptural support, and that it is dangerous because it weakens the motives to missionary effort and induces a false security on the part of the unconverted in Christendom. Professor Fisher's object is to advocate the appointment as missionaries of those who, being otherwise acceptable, adopt a theory of future probation for the unenlightened heathen. The object of the editor is to oppose such appointment.

The space devoted in a single issue of the "Independent" to this subject indicates, probably, a growing sense of the importance of the questions involved, and the perception that the hypothesis of a Christian probation for all men can no longer be dismissed with a wave of the hand. It may be, however, that this (as we believe) the longest editorial ever published in that paper, is intended to dispose of the vexatious topic once and for all, and to silence the advocates of a theory which is there represented as unscriptural, unevangelical, absurd, and dangerous. But, at all events, the thoroughness and calmness of the discussion are in refreshing contrast with the spiteful vituperation of recent attacks on Andover "speculators" by the editor, who only the week before had ranked the professors of Andover Seminary with absconding defaulters and the inmates of prisons.

We have now refrained for more than a year from discussions of future probation, except as our pleadings for the appointment of certain men as missionaries have involved incidental allusion to it. The theory has not been "vehemently urged" by us, for since our first statement of it we have done little more than to claim the right of ourselves and of others to hold it. The vehemence, we think, has been in the opposition, by which, much more than by our support, prominence has been thrust upon the hypothesis. We introduce the subject again, not, if we correctly understand our motives, to defend our own theory against a vigorous attack, but because an alternative theory is proposed which requires consideration, and because a conception of Christianity is presented with which we find it impossible to be satisfied. An opportunity is thus offered to show that the hypothesis of a Christian probation for all men, although it is not free from some difficulties, is associated with correct views of the fundamental facts and essential characteristics of the gospel of Christ. We are ready to accept any other theory of God's dealings with the heathen, if it can be shown to be more consonant with the intrinsic character of the gospel than that theory which from the first we have held provisionally, and not dogmatically. We trust we are not so committed to our theory that we should feel constrained to defend it at all hazards and to attack every alternative theory. Thus far we have merely held that the hypothesis of a Christian probation for all men has more reasons in its favor and fewer objections against it than any other hypothesis which has been proposed.

The tendency to theorize on this subject proceeds from two considerations: One is the opinion generally held, until quite recently, that sinners can be saved only by faith in Christ; the other, the fact that a large proportion of sinners die without knowledge of Christ. The conclusion was accepted for a long time without much question, that the heathen, with few exceptions, pass at death into everlasting perdition. This conclusion, as Professor Fisher shows, is now almost entirely abandoned. "In this judgment," he says, "that numerous heathen, having no knowledge of Christianity, are saved, there seems to be a pretty general concurrence. Against it we hear no protest."

A theory which is stated by Professor Fisher, and defended at length in the editorial article, is, that sinners, at least among the heathen, can be saved without faith in Christ. There may be such "tempters of heart — penitence for sin, etc., — that God mercifully, on the ground of the Atonement, extends pardon. In other words, there is a preparation of heart to receive Christ if He were only known." The editor explains the theory in substantially the same terms: "What is needed, then, on his (man's) part to bring him again into fellowship with God is the re-establishment of the temper which he has lost, the germ of which is reverent submission, the fear of the Lord being always the beginning of wisdom. What is needed on God's part is that stupendous and gracious provision which is known as the Atonement, in consequence of which

men turning to Him are treated by Him as if they had not departed from Him, while the universal moral order, otherwise threatened by such Divine remission of sins, is sustained." Professor Fisher admits that it is not easy to find definite proof-texts for this hypothesis, that Paul's teaching seems to exclude it, since he appears to hold that faith in Christ is necessary to salvation, and that the only argument for it is that it is "consonant with the character of God and the genius of the gospel." He characterizes it as "an extra-Biblical opinion, depending for support mainly on views taken of the spirit and drift of the gospel." He therefore holds it as a permissible opinion on a difficult problem. The editor goes farther, and argues that all men have sufficient knowledge of God to bring them into this temper of reverent submission, that nature gives enough knowledge of God for salvation from sin, that conscience is adequate, that Judaism was adequate, and, of course, that the gospel is adequate. These revelations are not equally clear, but any of them is sufficient for salvation. "The one thing plainly appearing is that the Divine influence, in whatsoever measure exerted, under heathenism, Judaism, or Christianity, works consistently toward the production of that temper in men which will lead them to God in submission and worship." The theory is given completeness by the supposition that at the moment of death Christ is revealed to men in his glory, and that the vision gives permanence to the character already established, that he is "welcomed or repelled according to tendencies here established." It is even claimed that no one seriously doubts that according to the general evangelical conviction such vision of Christ is given and for such a purpose. The theory is explained with felicity of style, the impression of nature in its "shining vastness" and "calm majesty" is described with much beauty of thought, and the accusations of conscience creating the penances, sacrifices, priesthoods, and shrines of the religions of the world are graphically depicted. This hypothesis is presented as practically the only tenable theory relative to the destiny of those who do not have the knowledge of God in Christ. Unless the problem is considered insoluble, and if the heathen can have no opportunity except in this life, then we are to understand that all must accept the "implicit faith" theory. Professor Fisher accepts it because, on the whole, he finds it more satisfactory to him than other theories, but he would not impose it on others. The "Independent" would apparently prescribe this opinion to all who do not take refuge in agnosticism, and we are not sure it would allow that refuge.

A theory which is adopted by so able thinkers cannot be destitute of support. Indeed, if personal authority could be decisive, we should be glad to submit to the opinion of those who seem so competent to judge. We have endeavored, therefore, to estimate at their full value the reasons which favor this view.

It has the advantage of professing to vindicate the justice of God in condemning all men who die in their sins. If it is possible that even

under the light of nature men can submit to God, then all who do not so submit are guilty before him, and may justly be condemned and punished.

It has the advantage of giving a larger hope for those who do have the gospel. Many who are not the avowed disciples of Christ may, unconsciously, under the influences of the gospel, have that temper or disposition which is really Christian and which will come into exercise when Christ is more clearly known. This argument is urged in its favor by the editorial writer in the "Independent." The advocates of future probation would assent to this view, since the problem on which that theory throws light is the condition of those who are not brought under the influences of the gospel, directly or indirectly.

The theory has the advantage of making the most of such virtue as is found anywhere, and of holding that God will not condemn men of good moral disposition and humbleness of mind.

Its principal advantage is that it makes the earthly life decisive of the eternal destinies of men, and avoids all those evils which may accompany theories of probation after death. This consideration is of so much importance to many that they prefer to adopt any theory, however inadequately supported, which precludes future probation, rather than a theory, however reasonable, which encourages belief in opportunity of salvation after death.

But the theory is confronted by certain facts and considerations which cannot be ignored and which must be estimated before the theory can be accepted.

It certainly lacks direct Scriptural support. We would not make the absence of specific passages supporting the view a sufficient reason for not adopting it. But an objection which is urged as fatal to the theory of a universal Christian probation must be equally cogent against any theory. Paul affirms, indeed, that God has not left himself without a witness in the works of His hands, so that idolatrous nations are inexcusable. But he is arguing that all men, now they have sinned, are incapable, by the light of nature, of saving themselves, and have hope only in Christ. The representation of judgment, in the twenty-fifth chapter of Matthew, gives no clear intimation that at that time any will be present who have not had knowledge of Christ, but does teach plainly that men often serve Christ without knowing that they do so, and that the loudest professions are worthless in the absence of the Christian character and spirit. The passage can hardly be understood to mean that *only* those who never heard of Christ are saved, yet all on the right hand are described in the same way and as uttering the same surprised questions. Indeed, few passages have been more variously interpreted. No other passages are claimed in support of the theory. Professor Fisher admits that it has even less direct Scriptural evidence than the doctrine of infant salvation, for which he cites only the description of Christ blessing little children.

The language of the editor in which he criticizes the theory of universal Christian probation may be used, substituting his view, against the hypothesis he advocates: 'It seems to us a peremptory argument against it that even its advocates find only such faint and fragmentary traces of it in all the New Testament. If the Master knew that men could be saved by a humble and teachable temper of heart, it seems incredible that He should not have made it part of his teaching, instead of declaring that no man comes to the Father but by Him. If Paul or John knew anything about it, it certainly was a bold economy of truth not to state it. If Peter referred to it, it is amazing that he did it so enigmatically, and that he declared concerning Christ that there is no other name given under heaven amongst men whereby we must be saved. The fact of salvation without any knowledge of Christ has such infinite significance and is so related to man on the one hand and to God on the other, that we should certainly expect it to stand commanding and resplendent on the front of Scripture, and not to be concealed, like an angel hidden in a windowless closet, in the most obscure verse of all the Bible.'

We do not find the passages in Peter the most obscure in the Bible. It is some of the interpretations which are obscure. We can, therefore, use the objection from lack of definite Scriptural support with as much pertinence against the submissive-temper-of-mind theory as the "Independent" puts into it against the future-probation theory.

We do not, however, consider this objection a serious one. We prefer to inquire if the theory is consonant with the character of God and with the spirit and drift of the gospel. If it is, we should accept it, just as for similar reasons we accept the doctrines of Infant Salvation, the Trinity, and the Lord's Day. But the most serious difficulty we find is, that the theory seems to be out of keeping with the spirit of the gospel, except so far as it encourages a large hope for sinful men.

It practically ignores the corrupting influence of sin, and the moral helplessness which sin produces. If man had not sinned, then, under obscure revelations, he might have the right temper of heart. We could imagine some portions of the human race under the light of nature and of conscience only, some under Judaism, some under Christianity, and all obtaining a knowledge of God which should be preparatory to a higher knowledge. But here is the tremendous fact of sin, the fact which confronted Paul, the fact which confronts us to-day as we look out on the heathen world. All men are in the bondage of sin. If any are delivered from it and are renewed in the spirit of their minds, they are so few that the dark problem is unrelieved and unsolved. Men, as they are, are saved in any real sense and in appreciable numbers only by Christ. We do not deny that it is *possible* for men to turn to God even in their sins and without the gospel, and this possibility may perhaps vindicate the justice of God in condemning them for remaining in their sins. But the testimony is overwhelming that the masses of heathen are corrupt, and that they show no signs of reverent submission to God. It

may be true that missionaries not infrequently report heathen as truly desiring and searching for God, as the editorial article affirms; but the report always is that these are isolated exceptions, so that there are few if any more cases reported than there are missionaries reporting. Then, even if the justice of God is vindicated, are his Fatherhood and love vindicated? Will He allow millions of his children, whom He loves, to go down to eternal perdition without giving them that gospel which alone has proved effective in renewing men in any appreciable numbers? Admitting all the instances which will be claimed, we have a strong feeling that the implicit-faith theory condemns the masses of heathendom to everlasting death. There is no reason to believe that great multitudes of heathen are so brought to the love of holiness that only the vision of Christ is needed to reveal the existence of holy character. We find a difficulty, then, with this theory because it rests on a bare possibility, seldom realized, which saves the justice of God in punishing the unrepentant, but fails entirely to vindicate his Fatherhood, since He gives to only a fraction of the race, thus far, the truth which has any wide effect for salvation.

The theory also labors in attempting to find a sufficient motive for salvation in nature and conscience. This we have already indicated in the observation offered above, that the bondage of sin is ignored. The moral development of men might advance under obscure revelations of God, if man were not a sinner. But the motives prove to be inadequate for actual men who are sinners.

And we are still more perplexed by the representations of Christianity itself which minimize it as a motive power to bring men to God, and lay principal stress on it as an arrangement by which God can pardon the penitent without endangering the universal moral order. We should agree with the opinion that God's willingness and even his power to pardon sinners is in consequence of the Atonement. We do not doubt that God's relation to men, even in the obscure revelations He makes, are other than they would be but for his purposes of love in Christ. That is, all his dealings with men are in accordance with his character, and not contrary to it. It is not impossible, we cheerfully agree, for God to pardon the sin of those who repent. He is able to pardon all who repent because He is the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, and because He so loved the world that He gave his only Son to die for it and in it. But are the difficulties of our problem removed when it is seen that on God's part, by reason of atonement, nothing stands in the way of forgiveness? Is not the real difficulty this, that men without the gospel do not repent, and that they do not repent because the efficient motives are absent? Is not the knowledge of God's love in Christ, of God as seeking men by the love and sacrifice of Christ, — the knowledge that God in Christ is a reconciled God — the motive which can induce repentance and lead men in reverent submission to God? The gospel saves men because it reveals God to them as the God of love, and not merely or chiefly because it re-

moves obstacles to the exercise of forgiveness on God's part. God so loved the world that He gave his only begotten Son, that — the universal moral order may not be threatened by the forgiveness of sins? — whosoever believeth on Him should not perish but have everlasting life. Nature and conscience reveal God to sinners as the God of judgment, whom they fear. The gospel reveals Him as the God of forgiving love, to whom they may go in penitence and trust. The Atonement is an indispensable condition to the pardon of sins, but so is repentance. God cannot pardon unless there is repentance. The obstacles on God's part are removed, it may be granted, by the sacrifice of Christ; but the obstacles on man's part are not removed unless he has knowledge of the love of God in Christ. If a man who is penitent fears that God cannot forgive him he may be pointed to Christ crucified; but how without the influence of the gospel and the knowledge of God in Christ is he to become penitent? Paul does not say that when Gentiles have the penitent temper they will be pardoned because it is consistent for God, on the ground of atonement, to forgive. He says, Whosoever shall call on the name of the Lord shall be saved. How, then, shall they call on Him of whom they have not heard? We cannot linger to discuss the theory of atonement and salvation presented. We should argue that the Godward and manward relations of it cannot be separated, that its value for God largely consists in its power as a motive to repentance, that the Atonement has to do primarily with the reconciliation of God to his sinful child, rather than with the maintenance of a "universal moral order;" but we must content ourselves now with showing that the gospel which reveals God in Christ seeking men is the great motive power to bring men in penitence to God. It seems to us a fanciful notion that men are saved by means of a gospel of which they have no knowledge whatever. That is not God's way. He brings men back to Him by revealing himself to them in his real character. Other religions and the light of nature are not to be compared with Christianity, as if they differed from it only in degree. They contain some truth, but have no saving power. They incite men to seek after God and are, therefore, in sharpest contrast with Christianity, which reveals God seeking men, and making known to them his real character.

We have difficulty in accepting the theory, also, because it represents the vision of Christ at death as a mere testing of character, as if, when Christ is seen, every one shows what He really is, and nothing remains but the development of character which has been already determined. This phase of the theory seems to have been introduced because it is so obvious that there must be knowledge of Christ in order to holiness, and that all the germs of penitence and the tempers of heart conceivable could never bring men to their true estate apart from union with Christ. But the vision of Christ at death is represented as a testing rather than a motive power, in order to confine the work of salvation rigidly to this life. We will not deny that a clear vision of Christ is given to all men

at death, although no Scripture can be cited to prove that death is so sudden an illumination, and no cogent reason can be adduced to show that spiritual knowledge is given to all men when they die, in a flash, rather than gradually; but we are by no means prepared to believe that the vision is only a testing and a judgment. We can only say that we have not so learned Christ.

The objections to the theory, then, are so serious that we are not persuaded to accept it. It does not appear to us to be consonant with the spirit and drift of the gospel, but rather an ingenious attempt to construct an hypothesis under which it can be shown that men may be saved in this life without knowledge of the gospel. At the best it establishes a possibility. It does not give any satisfactory explanation of the fact that the masses of heathendom are left without the motives which alone have proved sufficient in any appreciable degree for the moral and spiritual renewal of men. It attributes to nature and conscience a redeeming power which they are not found to possess for actual sinners. And it reduces the significance of the gospel, by making it a governmental arrangement rather than the motive and power of a mutual reconciliation, by representing that its benefits may be obtained without knowledge of it, and by separating it thus from character and life.

We do not consider that this is a dangerous theory, except so far as it gives an inadequate conception of Christianity. We do not believe it would discourage efforts for the heathen, for the reason that it deals only with exceptional conditions. But if many are saved without the gospel, as the advocates of the theory profess to believe, the motive to missions would be weakened. If great multitudes, if numerous heathen are saved without knowledge of Christ, it is better to leave the heathen nations as they are; for Christianity has saved comparatively few. If only a very few, as we believe, are renewed without the gospel, the problem is not solved; for the very question is how God can leave the mass to perish. If many, as the advocates of the theory claim, are renewed without the gospel, the theory "cuts the nerve of missions;" for the gospel is not urgently needed. The theory may also lead men in Christendom to depend on tempers of heart rather than on faith in Christ. In a word, this theory is open to all the objections which are urged against the universality of Christian probation, and lacks that support from the spirit and drift of the gospel which the hypothesis of a future probation claims.

The reasons we have formerly urged in favor of the hypothesis that those who do not know Christ in this life will know him after death are very weighty and need only, after the preceding observations, to be enumerated.

The hypothesis assumes that the whole world is lying in wickedness, as Paul taught and as the church has always believed.

It finds that under nature and conscience men are not being saved in any considerable numbers.

It finds in the gospel of Christ the only motives and influences under which men are actually renewed.

It finds that the gospel has a universal character. Christ died for the world; tasted death for every man; was the Son of Man.

The conclusion is therefore reached that those who do not hear of the gospel in this life will probably have knowledge of it in another life. With our present knowledge, which we admit is limited, it is not intelligible how otherwise the gospel is of universal application.

With this theory agrees the constant teaching of the New Testament, that Christ is to judge the world, that is, that the final judgment is to be a Christian judgment. Christ will not, we believe, judge multitudes of men who never know him till they know him as their judge. Our belief is, that whether or not it is just to condemn men who have not known God in Christ, as matter of fact no one will be hopelessly condemned who has not heard of Christ.

The theory corresponds perfectly with the spirit and drift of the gospel, in maintaining the universality of the gospel and the universality of Christian judgment. It is supported, thus, by the tenor of Scripture, if not by specific passages, although passages are not wanting which harmonize with it. It is enough in accepting, provisionally, a given solution of a perplexing problem that no Scripture can be cited against it. Professor Fisher says that the only passage employed to oppose the theory does not apply to it, and the editorial article refrains from the citation of a single opposing text. But it is urged that we might expect Scripture to be explicit and unmistakable if there is opportunity for salvation after death. We are content to reply, that if Scripture were "commanding and resplendent" on the subject there would be no discussion, for there would be no problem; that Scripture is nowhere "commanding and resplendent" in teaching that men can be saved without knowledge of Christ; and, in general, concerning all questions which are not directly answered in the Bible, if we are to think at all, we must reason and conclude in accordance with the principles and methods of the gospel as they reveal the character of God.

The objection is urged that if efforts are now going forward in the intermediate state for the conversion of the heathen, the New Testament would encourage praying for the dead, but it nowhere hints that such prayer should be offered. The assumption on which this discussion proceeds sets aside the objection. Directions to pray for the dead would not be intelligible unless it were plainly taught that for some there is probation after death. Such directions would make an unmistakable doctrine of Scripture of that which we must now consider only a reasonable hypothesis. The objection really says, that the doctrine is not plainly taught in Scripture for this reason, — that it is not plainly taught.

But it is not likely, even if the hypothesis of a universal Christian probation is correct, that men in this life would be urged to pray for the dead, because in Scripture our prayers are associated with our efforts,

and the dead are out of reach of our influence. Effort and prayer are concentrated on present conditions. It would not be consonant with the gospel to enjoin prayers for generations yet unborn, but theoretically there is no reason why prayer should not be efficacious in their behalf. It is not meant that we should be chiefly engrossed with affairs in which it is impossible for us to bear an active part. And therefore it is not consonant with the gospel to push an hypothesis of probation for classes we cannot reach into the front of preaching or discussion, and to make it essential that one should or should not accept it.

The only argument against the theory is the fear, which is worthy of all respect, that it may weaken the motive of missions and induce carelessness on the part of some who do have the gospel. As to the first result, it has not as yet appeared; but, on the contrary, some of the most ardent supporters of the missionary service accept the hypothesis. There is no certainty that the future life would be more favorable than the present for accepting Christ, while there would be the disadvantage of habits formed during a life of sin; and no one can be so positive that there is opportunity of salvation after death as to trust all men to the possibility. The indifference of Universalists to the conversion of the heathen is not in point; for they are perfectly confident that all men will be saved, and they look on punishment as remedial. In justice to that denomination it should also be said that, as we are informed, active measures are on foot to organize a foreign missionary society, and that three young men have pledged themselves to the work.

As for the misuse of the theory by the unconverted in Christian lands, it should be said that no theory of a second probation is held, but only of a Christian probation; and it is due chiefly to persistent misrepresentation by some opponents of the theory that a wrong impression has gone abroad. Those who use the theory for their security are condemned out of their own mouths; for the hypothesis is, that there may be a future probation only for those who do not have the gospel here. Men are no more likely to make an excuse of this theory than they are to seize on other pretexts for deferring repentance.

But as against these dangers is the greater danger of driving men into unbelief by representing God as an arbitrary being, who deals unequally with his children, and who sends multitudes to destruction without giving them the gospel by which alone they can be saved. We are confident that a large part of current unbelief is due to just such representations of the character of God. We know that men, unvexed by theological assumptions, take it as a matter of course that God will not withhold from the degraded heathen the knowledge He gives to the Christian nations.

The editor of the "*Independent*," and this is the only trivial paragraph in his article, advises us to adopt a more sweeping theory if we wish relief for our burdened spirits. He asks why we do not adopt either the denial of essential evilness in sin, or the theory of ultimate salvation for all, intimating that on either of those suppositions all difficulties

disappear. We reject those theories because they are based on erroneous views of character and responsibility, because they are unethical theories, and for various reasons besides. And the use of the theory of future probation is not relief for the spirit which is burdened because pain and penalty are in the world. Its use is to vindicate the character of God from the aspersion of inequality and arbitrariness in his dealings with men, to preserve in reality the universality of the gospel of Christ, and to keep distinct the method and motive in accordance with which men are turned from sin to God.

When it is asked why we do not leave the unenlightened heathen in the hands of God, since by the hypothesis we can do nothing for them, we answer, that if we merely wished to relieve our minds of an unwelcome thought we should dismiss the subject in that way, but that the inquiry is important because it is involved with conceptions of the government and character of God and of his gospel of salvation.

Men must think on this problem, which is so closely related to the justice and mercy of God, as the presentation of so elaborate a theory in the "Independent" proves. Of the alternatives presented we adopt that which seems to us to have the strongest reasons and the fewest objections. But, however the theory may be estimated by others in respect of reasonableness, we claim, in view of the motive which prompts it, and the honor it gives to Christ and his gospel, the right to hold it in perfect consistency with the evangelical faith; and we claim that no one should be withheld from preaching the gospel to the heathen because he believes that all heathen sooner or later will have knowledge of the gospel.

THE AMERICAN BOARD AS A BORROWER OF MEN.

In an open letter from Professor Ladd of New Haven to ex-President Chapin of Beloit College, published in the "Boston Daily Advertiser" of March 3, 1887, the following reference is made to the present working policy of the Prudential Committee in regard to candidates for missionary service: "Secretary Judson Smith has expressly informed the students of Yale Theological Seminary that persons who have any doubt as to whether the fate of all the heathen is irrevocably fixed at death should not apply for appointment by the American Board. And Secretary Alden has, in private conversation, outlined the policy of the Board somewhat as follows: The places of the rejected candidates from our Congregational churches are to be filled by the appointment of candidates from the Presbyterian Church, on the ground that the latter has an abundance of young men without scruples on this theological tenet, but has not an abundance of money; whereas the American Board wants the men, but has the money."

We have seen no denial of Professor Ladd's statement. On the contrary, recent communications to the press, both public and private, which are accepted as representing the views of the majority of the Secretaries

and of the Prudential Committee, sustain it. The Report of the Manhattan Association says: "We learn upon inquiry that students in Presbyterian seminaries are at this moment, in gratifying numbers, applying to the American Board for appointment." A writer in the "Boston Daily Journal" of March 12, 1887, who signs himself "Common Sense," says to the same effect: "There is a good prospect that the Prudential Committee will have all the candidates the funds of the Board will enable them to send, and without commissioning any who hold new and unhappy speculations. Congregationalists not only are offering, but exceedingly promising candidates from other denominations. Over twenty applications, it is said, have come in within two or three weeks." And the latest appeals for money, from the rooms of the Prudential Committee, scarcely conceal the elation which seems to be felt there over the success of the scheme of borrowing men from other denominations while the process of rejecting men from Congregational churches and seminaries goes on.

There are aspects of this new phase of the policy of the Prudential Committee of which we have little to say. Whether or not, for example, this exposure of the poverty of the Presbyterian Board in its present embarrassment is gratifying to our Presbyterian brethren we have no means of knowing. Such a reciprocity of interest in the supply of men might suggest to a mere observer a like reciprocity of interest in the supply of money. Why should not our Congregational churches go to the relief of the Presbyterian Board in its financial stress, in return for the kindness of the Presbyterian seminaries toward our own Board in the matter of men? What better illustration than this could be given of denominational comity?

For the men who come to us from other denominations to enlist in the service of the American Board, we have no other words than those of hearty welcome. We trust that we are willing to recognize and to honor the missionary spirit wherever it exists among young men in purity and breadth. But for the method which invites men from other denominations to the *exclusion* of men from the Congregational churches and seminaries, which is now the ruling method at the rooms of the Prudential Committee, we have only words of disapproval and condemnation. In fact, there is but one form for the expression of opinion upon this policy, and that is in the way of protest. The question itself is fast passing beyond the limits of calm discussion, and is assuming the intensity and the proportions of a great moral grievance. The case as it proceeds is becoming clearer and more single to the public thought. There is no longer occasion for argument. The repeated and continuous statement of the exact facts is, in this instance as always, the surest method of righting a grievous wrong.

The case, then, to recall once more the facts, is this: Certain young men of our Congregational churches and seminaries, who have been consecrated and who have consecrated themselves to the "cause of Christ in heathen lands," have been rejected by the Prudential Committee of

the American Board. They have been denied the opportunity of proving their theological standing before councils of the denomination. Their rejection is understood to imply the rejection of similar applicants. Meanwhile the attempt is made, which we have no doubt may become successful, to supply their places, and the places of others like them, with men drawn from other denominations, who have no scruples about accepting the dogma which excludes the heathen from any hope of salvation through the future knowledge of Christ.

In this bare statement of the case there are several associated facts which are to be kept in mind. It is to be remembered that these young men who have been rejected were among the very first to offer themselves when the appeal was most urgent for men. Two years ago the report of the Home Secretary, in respect to the number of applicants for service under the Board, was most disheartening. The cry for help was plaintive. It touched the hearts of these young men, and called out their immediate and hearty consecration. They presented themselves promptly, unreservedly, and with unquestioning enthusiasm. The last applicant, who was rejected, offered himself in glad fulfillment of a pledge made nearly two years ago to Mr. Neesima, that he would follow him upon graduation to enter upon work in Japan.

It is to be further remembered that these young men have all been approved as preachers by ministerial associations, and that they are welcome among the churches to which they are called to minister. There is no question about their fitness for any form of service in the church at home.

It is to be further remembered that these rejected candidates represent many others, who, but for their rejection, would apply to the Prudential Committee. They are from two of the oldest and most honored of our theological seminaries. It is not denied that the missionary spirit is as sincere and active in these as in other seminaries of the denomination. It is not denied that these young men fairly represent the prevailing thought and temper of these seminaries. In rejecting them, the Prudential Committee have done what they could to repress the missionary enthusiasm of at least a score of their fellows, and to cut off the supply of missionaries from the sources which they represent. They have virtually said by their action, We want no more men from Yale or Andover under their present administration.

It is to be further remembered that these very men who have been rejected are earnestly desired in the fields to which they have specially consecrated their lives. The argument is often adduced that the sending out of these candidates will create division in the missions of the Board. But what if a mission earnestly and persistently asks for them? On what ground, for example, does the Prudential Committee refuse, by its own principles of action, the urgent and repeated calls for particular men from the missionaries of Japan?

It is to be further remembered that these rejected applicants represent

a most respectable and increasing number of ministers in the denomination who are in intellectual sympathy with them in their conception of the motive to Christian missions. Under the very general abandonment of the dogma of the immediate and universal perdition of the heathen, all thoughtful minds are forced to the alternative of a possible salvation for them, in some lower sense, under the light of nature, or of their redemption through the possible knowledge hereafter of Christ. It is now admitted by the ablest advocates of the theory of salvation under the light of nature that there is no authority for it in Scripture. The theory is designated as extra-Biblical. As between the two theories, therefore, both of which are allowed to be extra-Biblical, the immense advantage in respect to *motive* is seen to rest with the theory of salvation through the knowledge of Christ. It is reasonable that this latter theory should gain adherents at the expense of the former. The gain is already perceptible and represents no inconsiderable part of the constituency of the American Board.

It is to be further remembered that many of the oldest and most valuable supporters of the Board, among individuals and among churches, are calling for the commission of the candidates who have been rejected. Their demand is now for toleration. Before long it will resolve itself into the inevitable formula — no taxation without representation. We give our money freely for those who hold different views from those which we entertain, on non-essential points: we demand that there shall be no discrimination against those with whom we are in agreement.

It is to be further remembered that the cause of these young men who have been rejected, and whose places it is sought to fill from applicants without the denomination, is coming to be recognized as the test of freedom and catholicity on the part of the Board. For a time the cause of freedom and catholicity had its representative in Mr. Hume. He was returned and, so far as his own position was concerned, with entire honor to himself. But it has not yet been determined whether the decision in his case is to be regarded as a precedent or as an exception. The subsequent action of the Prudential Committee and the statements already quoted of two of the Secretaries warrant the fear that it is to be regarded as an exception. Hence the earnestness with which many leaders in the Congregational body are calling for councils as a fit means of settling the present difficulties in a Congregational way. Some of these leaders are not in full agreement in opinion with the young men whose views are called in question, but all recognize the extreme peril of arbitrary and intolerant action. The Board is seen to be on trial in respect to what has heretofore been its most honorable characteristic, namely, its catholicity. Will it remain broad and free enough to cover its natural constituency, or will it surrender itself to become the organ of a party and a school? Catholicity requires of the Board the generous recognition of all evangelical Christians. It should never discriminate against applicants from other than the Congregational denomination. Neither should

it discriminate against its own. Catholicity does not demand of the Board that it shall become an unnatural parent, turning its own children from its doors that it may entertain the children of its neighbors. That is a spurious catholicity, whose gains are measured by its exclusions, which alienates by the very methods by which it seems to enlarge, which sacrifices obligations which are permanent for ends which are transient.

It is not unlikely that at the next meeting of the American Board the Prudential Committee will be prepared to say to their constituency, "Our wants in men have been supplied. They have been most providentially met. All we now ask of you is money sufficient to carry on and enlarge the operations of the Board." If this shall be the statement of the Committee, not a small part of their constituency will be prepared to reply, "Gentlemen, your solution of the problem is too easy. It is also too costly. You have borrowed men at too high a rate of usury; you have borrowed at the cost of justice. First satisfy the rights of those whom you have ignored or denied; then ask us, as of old, for our money and our prayers."

HENRY WARD BEECHER.

THE illustrious orator who has been the source of so many panegyrics on the nation's distinguished dead has himself become the theme of funeral eulogy. The judgments passed upon him while living were not altogether eulogistic. In the hands of his critics he has figured at the extremes of envious, prejudiced, malignant depreciation, and of extravagant laudation and ecstatic hero-worship. Discriminating criticism, mixing praise and blame, has sometimes tipped the scale in his favor, and at other times against him. Criticism, whether capricious and scorching, or generous and sympathetic, is usually a self-revelation of the critic. The value of the criticism depends entirely upon the character and competency of the critic, and upon his point of view. Judged by many of the masters and master-critics of eloquence, Henry Ward Beecher has been pronounced an epoch-making man, allied to the good and true of every age, a man of inexhaustible powers, the preacher for the world. Dr. Henry Allon, Joseph Parker, and Spurgeon, of England, have spoken of his genius in the same breath with Shakespeare. George William Curtis says that at the moment of his death he was the most popular and effective of American orators, and the greatest preacher of the English-speaking race, and that there have been few greater in its annals.

Diversity of judgment ought not to occasion surprise. Contemporary critics often differ about the famous men of their generation, and later critics share their differences. The variant opinion pronounced upon men like Burke and Canning, like Goethe, Macaulay, and Carlyle, suggestively hints to the contemporaries of the renowned Brooklyn preacher that it is too early to pass an adequate and a definitive judgment upon his character and career. We are too near the object of our contemplation, too near his open grave. With neither the wish nor the temerity to

determine his rank, we yet venture the prophecy that, when the accents of sheer blame and exaggerated praise have quieted down, qualified judges of a great man's genius and achievements, deliberately doing their work, will fashion a figure that the nation will place in a niche among the worthies whom she will not willingly let die.

The materials for estimating the qualities of his mind, the principles of his teaching, and the literary characteristics of his written and spoken styles are to be found in his published writings. In mere quantity of published matter he ranks among authors whose works are comparatively limited. But few of them were composed for publication. They were chiefly gatherings of articles from the journals with which he was connected. He revised many of them at the request of friends for permanency in book form. The famous "Star Papers," which were occasional essays on his experiences of art and nature, "Eyes and Ears," "Pleasant Talks on Fruits, Flowers, and Farming," "Aids to Prayer," "Views and Experiences on Religious Subjects," "A Circuit of the Continent," and the most far-famed of all, the "Life Thoughts," received his editorial attention. Robert Bonner persuaded Mr. Beecher into a reluctant consent to write a novel for the "New York Ledger," and "Norwood, a Tale of Village Life in New England," was the result — and his sole venture into the field of fiction. This novel is simply an interesting, picturesque, and didactic story, with no dramatic or artistic value, and adds nothing to the author's fame. His critical and philosophical work appears in the "Yale Lectures on Preaching," "Working with Errorists," "Eight Sermons on Evolution and Religion," discussing the bearings of the evolutionary philosophy on the fundamental doctrines of evangelical Christianity, and the last work of his life, which he hoped to be his best monument, — his "Life of Jesus, the Christ." A large collection can be made of the occasional lectures and addresses that were made during the last twenty-five years of his public career. The best known are: "The Loss of the Arctic," "Raising the Old Flag at Sumter," "The Death of Lincoln," "Wendell Phillips," "Man and his Institutions," "Hard Times," "Reasons for Lecturing in the Fraternity Course," the speeches made in Great Britain during the Civil War, eleven lectures before the Cooper Union in New York, his platform lecture on "Democracy," and his last effort in Occasional oratory, the "Eulogy on General Grant." Of the thousands of sermons that he preached during his ministry of half a century, the first that were published were the remarkable "Lectures to Young Men," delivered during his early ministry in Indianapolis. The "Plymouth Pulpit" series of sermons, numbering over a score of volumes, is a collection of stenographic reports of his sermons and prayers, all of which were extemporaneously delivered. Two volumes of carefully selected sermons representative of the preaching in the Plymouth pulpit were revised by their author, and reveal the great preacher at the height of his power and in his best vein of thought and expression. Many of his strongest and choicest public efforts, especially his lyceum addresses

and after-dinner speeches, have never been printed in full. Much of his most forcible and brilliant writing can be found only by consulting the columns of "The Independent" and "The Christian Union," with which he was connected either as editor or contributor. In the fragments of his time while a pastor at Indianapolis he wrote for the "Indiana Journal," and conducted the agricultural department under the title of "Western Farmer and Gardener." This department was reprinted monthly, and gained a national reputation.

A glance at the Beecher literature just enumerated will indicate the province of his *published* authorship, both in variety of topic and their numerical amount. The range of his subjects was varied enough, and the area of his discussion broad enough, to give full play for the exercise of his literary gifts. His thought embraced in its expression almost all the essential forms of prose, — narrative, descriptive, philosophical, oratorical, and the miscellaneous essay. A sufficient basis is also afforded in his accessible productions to form an estimate of his literary power. Will his writings repay a careful study on the part of the student or critic of literary style? Is he likely to be regarded as a classic among American authors? A negative, on the whole, must be the verdict. His style lacked the distinctive *literary form*. There was often ineffable beauty in thought and expression. He was a keen and sensitive critic in all the departments of the fine arts. But the moderation that is inseparable from the classic style, the patience in fashioning structure and sentence and diction, — in a word, the *architectural* qualities of the great masters of English prose, — did not belong to his intellectual method. Mr. Beecher was not an author by profession; nor a journalist, nor a lecturer, nor a politician, by profession. It was as a *preacher* that he was most clearly and proudly conscious of his powers and of his divine mission. As a preacher he was by instinct and practice extemporaneous in his method. He took his oratorical method and didactic purpose into his literary expression. It was through his mental habit of using the word *spoken* that he became cogent and famous as a master of language. But extemporaneousness is a deadly enemy to a purely literary style *as such*. He had neither the disposition nor the time quietly to sit down, and with cool design weave into elaborate forms the fineness and finish of artistic texture that give permanence to literary style. He wrote for the present hour. His eye was on the present audience of listeners or readers, not upon posterity.

As an author, merely, with the leisure and habits of authorship, and aiming singly at classic fame, he was full of splendid potentiality. He had in him the germs of a novelist of the order of Dickens, Kingsley, and Charles Reade, with their pathos, humor, dramatism, satire, and practical humanity of purpose. As a writer upon nature and art his name could have ranked with Ruskin. He was an intellectual though not a temperamental kinsman of Carlyle as a profound analyst of character, and

a sound critic of momentous political epochs; and in point of style could have equaled the author of "Frederick the Great" and the "French Revolution" in originality, impassioned vigor, and versatile power of delineation. His "Eulogy on Grant" is a masterpiece of biographical and historical criticism. Compared with it, Matthew Arnold's "Estimate" of the great general is "as moonlight unto sunlight, as water unto wine." The classic sermons that are reckoned amongst the treasures of English literature can be matched by some of the sermons of this modern preacher in many of the highest qualities of style. It is not extravagant to claim the possibility of selecting fifty sermons from his revised extemporaneous discourses that can be read by the trained critic in literature with a satisfaction similar to that he feels in reading many of the sermons of Jeremy Taylor, Dr. South, Robert Hall, and Thomas Chalmers. But in *quantity* of classic production their works far outrank the artistic achievement of Beecher.

The study of his published writings reveals an incomparable man, not because he added to the literature, to the political science, or even to the theology of his time, but because he entered into public affairs at national crises as a powerfully effective force; because, among the chief leaders in this generation of American life, he was a true *pontifex maximus*; because he was a man of might whose eloquent words helped to produce national deeds, and whose public utterances were often historical events. For a quarter of a century he has been America's greatest and most popular private citizen.

The true distinction of Henry Ward Beecher's genius was his oratory. Oratory was his characteristic mode of expression. Solitary authorship was not the true and instinctive manifestation of his gift of utterance. His speech was raised to its highest power in the presence of an assemblage of beating hearts, when treating the loftiest themes that root themselves in the character of God, revealed in the living Jesus as every sinful man's Brother, Friend, and Saviour. His transcendent powers of speech shone the brightest when he was trying to persuade men that they were partakers of God's nature, and urging them to recognize their sonship. He claimed that the various enterprises that engaged his time and thought outside of his preaching did not drain his pulpit strength, but were tributary to his power and influence as a preacher. The term "orator," then, which carries with it so much that is noble in gifts and achievement, is not sufficient to define Mr. Beecher. It demands a greater fullness of epithet, — "Christian orator." For forty years Plymouth pulpit has been the throne of modern eloquence.

The gifted preacher took no glory to himself for his powers or his influence. He deeply appreciated the original elements that enter into influential citizenship. With gladness and pride he acknowledged his debt of heredity. His remoter ancestry gave him the characteristics of the sturdy English from Kent, and the quaint, lyric, poetic nature of the Welsh. Transplanted to Connecticut with Davenport in 1638, his

progenitors became a part of the pioneer life of a State which has become rich in its harvests of able men. The influences and agencies of that strong and simple life centred in one of those homes that are at once the pride and blessing of New England. Lyman Beecher, the father of Henry Ward, was one of the most remarkable men of his day. As a preacher he was unsurpassed; as a theologian he won reputable distinction; as a controversialist and a reformer there was no greater moral force in stemming the tide of infidelity and intemperance. David Beecher, Henry's paternal grandfather, was a blacksmith, with a thirst for learning as intense as that of Elihu Burritt, "the learned blacksmith" of the Connecticut of a later day. From the father and grandfather Henry Ward inherited his robust and brawny physique, unfailing soundness of health, powers of endurance, shrewdness and keen sense of wit and humor, impetuosity of nature, energy of character and intellect, moral fearlessness, philanthropic instincts, vehement eloquence, and tendencies to antagonize political and social evils as an apostle of moral reform. From his mother, Roxana Foote Beecher, a woman of acute intellect, placid temper, rare beauty and spirituality of character, — a New England Madame Guyon, — he received the fineness, tenderness, and affectionateness of his nature, his large benevolence, his teeming imagination, love of reading, love of beauty in nature and art, and his glowing piety, with its tinge of mysticism. Of the ministry of the beautiful in the formation of Christian character, Lyman Beecher had little sympathy with his wife. "It is all moonshine," he would say, "with no doctrine, nor edification, nor sanctity in it, and I despise it." In the eighth child of this remarkable parentage appeared the consummate flower of the converging lines of the Beecher lineage. In his young nature there lay in germ the union of strength and beauty.

The conditions of a great career that lie in opportunity, and in the way in which an intelligent will grasps and uses opportunities, are even more controlling than the condition of heredity. The childhood of Henry Ward Beecher had in it no prophecy of his manhood. From the first he showed a noble disposition, — truthful, joyous, affectionate, and generous, — but in no wise did he manifest qualities that do not belong to all healthy and clever children, unless there be excepted his uncontrollable love of fun, and the original character of his pranks and practical jokes. From the woods, and flowers, and birds, and squirrels, and sassafras, and hickory nuts, and the pure and bracing atmosphere of moral innocence about the old Connecticut mountain town, Dr. Beecher removed to Boston when Henry was twelve years of age. At the Boston Latin School, after much tribulation, the boy mastered the Latin grammar. While the "era of fermentation and development" was stirring his restless, romantic nature, he was greatly excited by the reading of "Captain Cook's Voyages" and the biographies of naval heroes. He was fired with an intense longing for distinction in the navy, with Admiral Nelson for his *beau idéal*. With characteristic shrewdness and strategy, his father

diverted him from his immediate purpose, and induced him to attend the Mount Pleasant Institute, in Amherst, Massachusetts, to prepare for a possible appointment as midshipman.

The awakening of his hitherto utterly dormant sense for oratorical expression occurred at Mount Pleasant. Two circumstances in his life at the Institute became the twofold turning-point of his entire subsequent career,—an enthusiastic interest in elocutionary study and training, and the almost coincident awakening of his voluntary religious life. He was now a lad of fourteen,—a stocky, strong, and well-grown boy, trained to unquestioning obedience and hard work. Up to this time he had a voice naturally thick and husky, with enunciation very indistinct, partly from shyness, partly from an enlargement of the tonsils. As a boy he generally had to say three times over what he wished to say, in order to be understood. At Mount Pleasant he came into contact with Mr. John E. Lovell, a professor of elocution, who was teaching his art in the Institute and at the college. For three years Prof. Lovell trained him one hour a day for five days in the week in vocal culture, attitude, gesture, and the artistic expression of the various emotions as embodied in the authors of classic prose and poetry. Prof. Lovell said to the writer, not long since, that his pupil was very fond of declaiming from the famous speeches in "Paradise Lost" and in Shakespeare, from Sheridan Knowles's "William Tell," and from the sermons of Robert Hall. He knew "Porter's Rhetorical Reader" nearly by heart. Prof. Lovell had no Procrustean system, but taught his pupil from the standpoint of an interested friend who was endeavoring to help him to discover and develop his individuality, and to leave him at his best oratorical estate without the mark of the teacher upon him. "A better teacher in his department," said Mr. Beecher, "was never made." During the early part of his pupilage under Prof. Lovell he was powerfully impressed with a sense of his religious duty. "It was the flashing out into visible form," says his sister, Harriet Beecher Stowe, "of that deep undercurrent of religious sensibility which had been the habit of his life and the result of his home education." He united with his father's church in Boston. Dr. Beecher gradually turned the thoughts of the young Christian to the work of the ministry. To be a minister was the natural obligation which came upon any son of Dr. Beecher in joining the church. The young student's success in developing his voice, and his deep interest in his elocutionary instruction, were a powerful stimulus towards his final decision to preach the gospel. His naturally heroic temper found a new enthusiasm in the arena of moral conflict, and he aspired no longer to emulate the valor of Admiral Nelson.

His four years' course in Amherst College gave him a new power,—the power to study. The literary societies opened a new field of effort to which he instinctively turned,—the field of original composition and friendly debate. He quickly saw that as a preacher his appointed weapons must be rhetoric and oratory. To form his style he diligently studied

the English classics. He read them and re-read them, marked, learned, and inwardly digested them with increasing delight. Like young Macaulay, he spoke whenever he had an opportunity. The class and college prayer-meetings, the neighborhood religious meetings, temperance meetings, all furnished him with conditions for developing his newly awakened instincts for expressing himself upon the great themes that were opening to his moral vision.

The early history of his public speaking includes his first temperance address in Brattleboro', Vt., and three lectures on phrenology, delivered to village audiences in Amherst, during his sophomore year. The phrenological lectures were afterwards given in many of the surrounding towns, in company with his classmate, O. S. Fowler, who afterwards attained celebrity as the chief authority on phrenology in this country. Two years before leaving college, young Beecher's father accepted the chair of theology in Lane Theological Seminary, Cincinnati. After he was graduated from college, Henry entered Lane Seminary as a student of theology. He still diligently continued his elocutionary practice. In the grove between his father's house and the seminary, his brother Charles and himself, with two or three others, made the wood resound with their vocal gymnastics. It is obvious that this element of his technical education played a vital part in his oratorical career. Without it he never could have succeeded. Prof. Lovell, with his sensible skill, set the young lion free from the meshes of an entangling utterance, revealed to him his inborn and unsuspected power, and moulded for him not a rhetorical manner, but, as he said, "a flexible instrument that accommodated itself to every kind of thought and every shape of my feeling; and that obeyed the inward will in the outward realization of the results of rules and regulations." Beecher's elocutionary experience is the most convincing reply that can be made to the sneers of the modern Dogberrys who still claim that writing and reading come by nature.

Soon after he became conscious of his power of speech he became aware of a new condition of influence operating upon his rapidly developing nature. He began to feel and respond to the spirit of his time. He did not try to ignore the era in which he lived. He could not have ignored it if he had tried to do so. The special characteristic of the age was *agitation*. The condition of the time was unsettled, both in politics and theology. Before leaving the seminary his sympathies were aroused for his father in the great battle between the "New School" and the "Old School" theology. Dr. Beecher not only occupied, he *was* the central position of the theological battle, leading the "New School" forces of "free agency" in their opposition to the doctrines of "natural and moral inability." William, Edward, Henry, and Charles chivalrously acted as their father's armor-bearers. They had ample scope for their activity. " 'Free agency' on horseback," says Mrs. Stowe, "would go through mud, and fire, and water, as gallantly as ever 'natural inability' could in order to meet their opponents in the great debates." The study of theology

resolved itself into a study of the art of defense against the Old School theology. Enthusiastically loyal as he was to his father, still the theological controversy had a depressing effect upon his sympathetic nature. He had an exalted ideal of the Christian ministry. He began to test his motives, and to reflect upon the substance and method of the preaching of the time. One brother had already become an unbeliever, and had abandoned the ministry. His own mental distress and perplexity were so great that he seriously considered the question of entering another profession. As his sister Harriet describes the problem, he was troubled to know *what* to say to make men Christians. To *really* raise man to God was, in his view, the only true test of success in the Christian ministry.

During this mental conflict he engaged in some public work in speaking, and in editing the "Cincinnati Journal." He formed a Bible-class, and gave exclusive attention to the study of the four Gospels. This course of practical work, study, and teaching resulted in what Mrs. Stowe happily calls an experience of "spiritual clairvoyance." The great questions of his duty to preach and what to preach were solved. With his instinctive good sense he accepted the first offer for ministerial settlement that was made to him, and in 1837 he became the pastor of a small church in the village of Lawrenceburg, Indiana. The flock consisted of twenty members: "nineteen of them were women," he said, "and the other was — nothing." In his droll description of his work there, he says that he did duty as parish sexton, making the fires, trimming the lamps, sweeping the house, ringing the bell, and doing everything but "coming to hear myself preach: that the people had to do." From a two years' pastorate at Lawrenceburg he was called to Indianapolis, where he remained eight years, preaching continuously, and with a constantly increasing fame. Great revivals were the results of his preaching. Grog-shops and gambling were abandoned, the whole town was pervaded by the influence of religion, and large accessions were constantly made to the church up to the time of his call to Plymouth Church, Brooklyn, in 1847.

Had Mr. Beecher died during the first ten years of his ministerial life, the country never would have known that it had lost its greatest preacher and most influential private citizen of his time. He would have fallen as a promising young man among scores of others equally promising. He did nothing purposely to create an opportunity. But the call to great publicity was coming, although he did not suspect it. Already the clouds of the great contest with slavery were gathering.

When he accepted the call to the new church in Brooklyn the spirit of agitation had entered the arena of political life. Hitherto the slavery question had been largely a moral, social, and industrial question. It was not until his Plymouth Church pastorate began that the young preacher came to the consciousness of citizenship. He described the condition of the public mind at that time as the condition of "imprisoned moral sense." It was "the Egyptian era" of American life. At Lawrenceburg and Indianapolis he spoke and wrote against the inhuman

spirit of the time that had infamously murdered Lovejoy at Alton. The pro-slavery riot that destroyed Birney's press in Cincinnati called out from him as a youthful speaker and editor indignant public protests from the platform and in the "Cincinnati Journal." The prevalence of the poisonous animus of slavery in the commercial spirit of the North called out his sternest criticism. The sympathy of the public mind with "the Compromises of the Constitution" inflamed him to tear off the bandage that blinded the moral vision of the political leaders. Upon his rapidly expanding intelligence in public affairs, and his deep, quick sympathies for the oppressed and persecuted negro, the moral blindness and lethargy of the people acted with a tremendous stimulating force. Instead of being passively moulded by the prevailing spirit of the time, he deliberately determined to exert a positive influence *against* the public conscience and intelligence; but it should also be an educating influence. From the hour that Wendell Phillips made his great anti-slavery speech from the platform of Plymouth Church until the Emancipation Proclamation, nearly twenty years after, the Plymouth preacher became a flaming advocate for liberty of speech and action on the question of the national evil. If there was anything on earth that he was sensitive to up to the day of his death, it was any form of denial to liberty, either in literature, politics, or religion. Although he boldly confronted the corrupt political spirit of the age, he did not do it as an abolitionist, but as an anti-slavery man. The professed abolitionist disclaimed the obligation to maintain the government and the promises of the Constitution. Mr. Beecher, with the anti-slavery men, recognized the binding obligation, and sought the emancipation of the slave by a more circuitous and a gradual influence. But the opprobrious epithet "abolitionist" was applied to every man who, by *any* method, advocated the abolition of slavery. To be an abolitionist was to have the mark of Cain set upon the brow. To preach on personal liberty for the slave was a punishable offense. From '47 to '65 was a time of battle, and his ardent nature found expression through his bold and passionate utterance. His voice of trumpet tone was far better for the time of such a conflict than the flutes and harps and dulcet melodies of peace. One of the most powerful and influential speeches he ever made in behalf of justice and liberty was his withering assault upon the American Tract Society, on the 12th of May, 1859. The spirit of defense for the sacredness of the institution of slavery still influenced the church, but more at the North than at the West. The great publishing societies and the great missionary organizations that were sustained by the contributions of the churches were timid and compromising in principle and policy. At the annual May meeting in '59, Daniel Lord, Esq., had made a Jesuitical defense of the society in its refusal to circulate tracts upon the sinfulness of slavery. The next day Mr. Beecher made a speech of most vehement and indignant denunciation against the policy. Mr. Lord's carefully elaborated lawyer's argument was torn to shreds. Frequent

hearers of Mr. Beecher have said that he never surpassed himself on that occasion in many of the most admirable qualities of his noble gift of impassioned reasoning and inspirational eloquence. One great preacher admirably declared that the speech would take its place with some of the grandest orations of modern times. The effect was to separate the New England branch from the parent society; and the policy of the American Board on the slavery question resulted in the formation of the American Missionary Association.

In the exciting Frémont and Lincoln campaigns he was a frequent speaker for the Republican party. The Blaine-Cleveland campaign in 1884 found him a tower of strength on the Democratic side. During the past thirty years the country has not furnished a more popular or efficient political speaker.

But the orator as the conqueror of men was preëminently illustrated in his speeches on the Civil War which he delivered in Great Britain during the autumn of 1863. Oliver Wendell Holmes says that he "made a single speech, but it was delivered piecemeal in several places. Its exordium was uttered on the 9th of October at Manchester, and its peroration on the 20th of the same month in Exeter Hall. He bearded the British lion in his den at Manchester. The streets were placarded with blood-red letters expressive of hatred against him even to the taking his life. He had never faced an English audience, and did not know its peculiarities. But during an afternoon of struggle in darkness and suffering he gave the coming venture and himself all up into the hands of God, and "rose up," he said, "in a state of serenity simply unspeakable." On reaching the hall he found a tumultuous, howling mob. He was bunglingly introduced as the "Rev. Henry Ward Beecher Stowe." As soon as he began to speak the great audience "began to show its teeth." In fifteen minutes an unparalleled scene of confusion and interruption occurred. A large multitude of men were there who had been hired for the purpose of destroying the meeting. "No American," said Mr. Beecher, in describing the experience, "that has not seen an English mob can form any conception of a hostile English audience. A New York mob is as twilight unto moonlight." As he stood there looking at them, he said to himself, "I will control you! I came here for victory, and by the help of God I will have it." And he *did* have it. For an hour and a half the mob seemed to have the upper hand. They groaned and hissed, made cat-calls, compelled him to answer many shrewd and many insulting questions. He could speak consecutively for only five minutes at intervals. But he was never more self-possessed or in more perfect good-temper. At the end of the third half hour his ability, pluck, and endurance conquered them. "Gentlemen," said he, "you may break me down, but I have registered a vow that I will never return home until my country is vindicated." He brought all his wit and humor, his good nature, his playful egoisms, all his power of anecdote, illustration, and argument, to bear upon them. At the end of the second hour and a half he was the complete master

of the situation. When a popular vote was called for "it was a tropical thunder-storm," he said, "that swept through that hall as the 'ayes' were thundered, while the 'noes' were an insignificant and contemptible minority. God was behind it all; I felt it, I knew it." He bearded "the Douglas in his hall" at Glasgow and Edinburgh. Disturbances met him in both places. When he spoke in London his voice was very weak. "I expect to be hoarse," he began, "and I am willing to be hoarse, if I can in any way help to bring the mother and daughter heart to heart and hand to hand together." This sentiment was received with tremendous cheering. At Liverpool the mob was worse than all the rest of the mobs put together; but, as before, they finally yielded to his magnetic power. The American cause was triumphant. He had changed the hostile feeling of the British nation into a current of sympathy, and did much towards modifying the policy of the government. "He returned to America," says Dr. Holmes, "having finished a more remarkable embassy than any envoy who has represented us in Europe since Franklin pleaded the cause of the young Republic at the Court of Versailles. Through the people he reached nobles, ministers, courtiers, the throne itself."

In such stormy experiences as he encountered in England, and in his function as a political orator in America in times of great public agitation, the principal element in oratory is *force*. In the pulpit and in times of peace, it is *persuasion*. To Plymouth pulpit the man that could master that roaring lion — an English mob fearing to lose its prey — brought a voice and a manner that could comfort, and soothe, and charm. On that platform this ruler of men was not only upon his throne, he was *at home*. In the brief interval before the service began, he was wont to gaze slowly around upon the vast throng of expectant faces, with the gentle, satisfied expression of a benignant host, who is glad to welcome such an assemblage of friends, for whom he holds in conscious reserve heavenly messages of light and love, and spiritual gifts that shall put their penitence and faith, their resoluteness, aspiration, and charity, into active exercise. He seemed, also, to be opening his soul to the real but unnamable influence that unconsciously flows in upon a sensitive speaker from hundreds of eager faces and throbbing hearts, and stimulates all his nervous forces.

Mr. Beecher's conduct of the service was full of interest. Who that ever heard him pray can forget the impression? There were many amongst his parishioners who valued his ministry of prayer more than the message of the sermon. In our personal experience we never heard but one man besides Mr. Beecher — the English Unitarian, James Martineau — who seemed actually *communing* with God face to face, as a finite representative would speak the needs and aspirations of a people to the ear of the Infinite Father. The ideas were those appropriate to public prayer, copious, simple, yet varied as the wants of the soul; every suppliant seemed to feel, "*That is my prayer, that is for me;*" in expres-

sion, artless and affluent, and often of poetic beauty; confession and petition were ample, but there was much more of thanksgiving, of aspiration, and communion; in manner, there was the reverence, humility, trustfulness, and self-respect of sonship in the presence of fatherhood, with the *right* to speak which had been secured through the "living way" that had been opened in the divine-human brotherhood; in tone, tremulous with sensibility, earnest, deliberate, clear and distinct, low and gentle, delicately modulated with the changing moods of feeling. The great preacher possessed no sublimer gift than his power in public prayer.

He did not read every hymn. He read when his feeling prompted, and when he felt there was some spiritual lesson to be taught, as well as sentiment to be sung. The sensitive auditor could not fail to note the closeness of sympathy between the poetic feeling of the hymn and the appropriate modulations of the reader's voice. He read as if he were grateful to the poet for expressing in musical language the pressure of the lyric feeling in his own heart. By some listeners the hymn-reading passed unnoticed, as scarcely worthy the name of reading; others saw in it the perfection of interpretation as he lent "to the rhyme of the poet the beauty of his voice." But the art did not seem to be art, it was so infused with the *reality* of devotional feeling which was only being metrically expressed. The effect was that of listening to one whose *natural* mode of expression was that of poetic form, — the rhyme, rhythm, and metre delicately marked, the intellectual element of the poetry clearly but unobtrusively indicated by just emphasis, inflection, and pause, which simply outlined and guided the emotion expressed.

The interpreting power of Mr. Beecher's voice was at its best in his Scripture reading. He usually read from a small Bible held in his left hand. His reading, in its clearness, feeling, and point, was vocal exegesis. From his lips the Bible was half expounded. Whenever he selected the dramatic narratives of the Gospels or of the Old Testament, his expression was vividly lifelike. Preaching not long ago on the Power of Sympathy, he took for an illustration the sympathy that may be expressed in the tones of the human voice, and sharply criticised the apathetic, mindless way of the public reading of the Scriptures. He first read the graphic narrative of the conversation between Jesus and the woman of Samaria at the well, imitating without extravagance the ordinary lifeless manner of pulpit reading; then, in a striking manner, he sympathetically interpreted the true dramatism of the scene with the utmost simplicity and lifelikeness, and without a trace of mere artistic purpose or effort. In reading the Bible, sometimes a word of comment would be offered upon a difficult passage; occasionally he would produce a quietly humorous effect by adding an emphasis to the natural logical force of a passage. In reading the account of the four starving lepers entering the abandoned Syrian camp (2 Kings vii. 8), he once emphasized the phrase, "they went into one tent and *did* eat and drink." The whole picture of those famished and surprised outcasts was flashed upon the imagination by the hearty

and significant intonation upon the one word "did." His rhetorical pauses were managed with delicate skill, securing both clearness and impressiveness of expression. In the reading both of the Scriptures and of hymns he never lifted the eye from the page, except to give significance to an idea, and the look was always associated with a pause. There was often an undertone in his Scripture reading, especially in the interpretation of sublimity of thought, or grave rebuke, or solemn warning, or affecting personal experience, that suggested his silent personal commentary upon the passage. His tone hinted the deep impression that the ideas were producing upon his own mind, and that he was sympathizing *with* the author.

When he came to the sermon he faced his audience with a bearing of calmness and repose. His placid self-possession instantly won the confidence of the auditor. His presence engaged and riveted attention before he opened his lips. Artistic skill in various forms has made his pictured face a cherished possession in every household, and the future, through the same medium, will know his form and feature. Of good height, he was not sufficiently tall to be styled "magnificent" in person, but he was nobly and benignantly impressive. His superb physical advantages, even at threescore and ten, made him our Demosthenes. Few public speakers since the great Greek have been so generously gifted for a forty years' continuous service as preacher, lecturer, political orator, and conqueror of mobs. And yet his face and physical appearance were scarcely two days alike. His features varied with his temperamental conditions and his emotional moods. His voice was an organ of a hundred stops. It was at once strong, of great volume, penetrating, flexible, melodious, and capable of great power of endurance. An infant might be soothed to sleep by it, and a savage would feel himself getting civilized under it. It was a robust baritone in its musical register, and covered a wide compass. Training had put it under perfect control; and it was always kept in tune from constant practice in speaking and the fineness of his ear for music. Few men were so susceptible to sound as he. Good music of any kind would first excite his sensibilities, then lull his outward senses, and all manner of fancies and imagination would teem in his brain. His choir had no more intelligent, sympathetic, and grateful listener than Mr. Beecher. The introductory passages of the sermon were generally given in a low, gentle, conversational tone, as if conversing in a friendly way with his farthest auditors. Gesture and all modes of physical expression in public address, except the voice, were reserved for the rising tide of emotion. His familiarity with the philosophy of delivery, as well as his instinctive oratorical sense, led him to recognize the true source of action, — the feelings. Gesture, to him, was regulated according to the spontaneous action of the excited sensibilities.

He would sometimes proceed in a simple, colloquial tone for twenty minutes before he made any action. But when he entered into his inspiration and got into the heart of his subject, when feeling, imagina-

tion, and the nobler passions began their action, then the voice would expand in volume, become vibrant and concentrated, strong, rich, and impassioned; the latent inward heat filled the mild blue eyes with flashing fire, it radiated the face with earnestness, it penetrated arms, hands, and fingers, and produced gestures forcible, varied, and significant. There was no grace of elegance, and yet his action was graceful with that freedom which goes with disciplined power, moving easily. His whole body became an obedient servitor of the impassioned soul. The vast audience looked, listened, admired, and loved. Deeply moved, they unconsciously threw out their own inward fire. It kindled the speaker to a whiter heat. Their sympathies formed a whole key-board on which he played with a master hand. For the time they gave a simultaneous assent to every thought he uttered.

But this consummate manager of the multitude was too wise to keep their emotions beyond the pitch he instinctively felt to be natural for them and true for him. He understood the power of contrast in appealing to the heart and the imagination. He appreciated the value of neutral tints in emotional expression. Before the audience were aware of it, he had gradually subsided into the easy naturalness of colloquial speech, and they would find themselves smiling, perhaps laughing, at some witty thrust, or humorous anecdote or illustration. The next moment his voice was full of a tremulous tenderness or touching pathos, like a Welsh song; tears would be running down his face, and the audience would respond with a tribute of emotion they did not try to conceal. It was the *beauty* in the pathos, and the tender-hearted manliness of the speaker, that moved them. By his art of resting an audience, through variety of vocal and rhetorical treatment in different parts of any form of public address, he often held the people unwearied through a discourse of an hour or more in length. He used to say that the speaker helps his audience "by enabling them to listen with different parts of their mind; one part rests the others."

That "mystery of commanding," — how was it done? George William Curtis answered the question of the secret of the elegant, persuasive charm of Wendell Phillips by asking another: "Ah! how did Mozart do it? how did Raphael? The secret of the rose's sweetness, of the bird's ecstasy, of the sunset's glory, — *that* is the secret of Eloquence." One word covers the ultimate answer, "Genius: " —

"That birth-hour gift, that art-Napoleon,
Of winning, flattering, welding, moulding, banding
The hearts of millions, till they move as one."

The eye looked upon the noble form and its eloquently expressive action, the ear heard the resonant voice with its varied melody, but the mind felt the influence of his personal force. They felt it in his style. His style was impassioned because his temperament was impassioned, because the spirit of his time was impassioned, because the themes he chose were full of emotive interest, because his auditors designedly opened their hearts

to be moved by his stronger feeling, and they, in turn, fed him with the volume of their sympathy.

We must regard Mr. Beecher, then, as a *temperamental* speaker. For him to act upon men through living speech was inevitable. An irresistible inward impulse compelled him to speak. It was the Pauline feeling, "Woe is me if I preach not the gospel." No label is useful in characterizing such a many-sided orator; but, keeping in mind the temperamental character of his speech, it is not far out of the way to say that the eminent distinction of his oratory was its unfailing *vitality*. His oratorical aim was to make truth vital, and to vitalize men with the truth. Well were his stimulating utterances called "Life Thoughts."

"'T is *life* of which our nerves are scant,
O life, — not death, — for which we pant,
More life, and *fuller*, that we want."

This was his practical creed. He was so intensely alive in every element of his nature that he radiated life-giving influences from his warm, sun-like nature. And so, in a very true sense, he may be regarded as an *inspirational* speaker. The point of view from which he contemplated life was a spiritual eminence. He viewed all life in relation to God in Christ. Christ was all in all for *all* life. In his philosophy of life the emotions and passions of men held the key to their action, and the secret of a speaker's influence upon that action. Action moves, character expresses itself, according to the activity of the feelings. Get at the passions of men, educate the feelings into nobility, and you raise action and character to the spontaneous, habitual expression of a high type of manhood. "Love nobly and do as you please." Make the love of Christ the strongest passion of the soul, and habitually realize that Christ's powerful, unending love possesses the soul, — *that* is true life. It is the supreme motive of the Christian speaker. He made this ground-motive so prominent in his preaching that some critics used to say, "Beecher is always harping on one string." But what infinite variations of melody he got out of that one string!

The noteworthy aspect of Mr. Beecher's vital delivery was its *easy naturalness*. There was no appearance of effort in his speaking. It was disciplined power moving without constraint. He held that the truly natural speaker is the *educated* speaker. We are not to be content with the acorn, we want the oak. "Truth," he said, "is the arrow, but the trained man is the bow that sends it home." Notwithstanding his long and systematic training in rhetoric and elocution, there was not a trace of artificiality in his style or manner. He never was conscious of voice or action while speaking. He had the immense advantage of having been trained while young and plastic, and so assimilated his instruction until it became a second, *best* nature acting spontaneously. He contended that a man is never thoroughly taught until he has forgotten how he learned, just as a man walks without thinking how he learned to walk. The per-

fection of the instruments of public address is the fruit of training and experience. All learning, in his view, to be perfect, must be susceptible of spontaneous use. One of his parishioners, an admirable critic of oratory, said that Mr. Beecher was the only speaker he had ever heard who was absolutely free from the conventionalities of time and manner. His public tones and manner were like his private speech, only with the added intensity in meeting the necessary demands of public speech. Many of his most impressive utterances have been spontaneously thrown off in the familiarity of friendly conversation. He never reserved himself for great occasions. He was eloquent when the inspiration came upon him, whether the place was parlor, platform, or pulpit.

Like all masters of speech, he had the naturalness of *individuality*. He simply was *himself* everywhere and under all circumstances. When he spoke, he spoke himself into his words as unconsciously as breathing. The inevitable result was that his self-directing, original genius gave a *unity* to his method of expression. There was a variety of theme and treatment, but a unity of tendency. Everything in his oratorical method hung and moved together. He was therefore an *honest* speaker. There was rarely an attempt at the expression of emotion when the emotion was not present. His expression was the natural embodiment of the momentary dominant feeling. If emotion was dormant, either he would speak straight on in a simple, matter-of-fact way, like a gentleman conversing with a friend who charitably recognized commonplace and sluggish periods in every man's emotional life; or he would try to summon the soul into action by a forcible manner, — then he seemed declamatory, but the declamation would often elicit the true feeling.

When he was *dramatic*, as he often was, his manner was still honest. There was too much simplicity in his character ever to simulate. He was picturesque in his action, at times, because he could not help being so. His dramatism was the natural fusion of language, imagination, imitative power, and artistic feeling. He was not an actor, because his *motive* in dramatism was not the artistic motive or method; he did not pre-determine effects like the actor; he calculated nothing. When he delineated a scene, it was not acting. Unconscious of voice, attitude, and action, he *spontaneously* painted the reality that rose to his vision at the moment. If he saw Liberty with a diamond sceptre in her hand, it was not a diamond-tipped or a diamond-set sceptre; it was a sceptre *all one diamond*. "Don't I know?" he disputed. "*I saw it myself.*" When, after hunting around the platform for a "lost hope" with an imaginary candle in his hand, he set the candle down and wiped off the dripping grease from his hand with a handkerchief, it was because he saw and felt it there; but he was unconscious of the act. At another time he sees Christ entering the house at Bethany and greeting the sisters with unaffected cordiality of friendship. He brings into relief this human trait in the Saviour's character by picturing in contrast the manner of the Divine Guest as he would act from the dictates of society conven-

tionalisms. The preacher sits down upon the arm of the pulpit chair; Martha and Mary are at the other side of the platform; he twirls his fingers, puts on a proper face, uses the tones of an ultra-fashionable caller, and conducts a conversation according to etiquette in Bethany. You may be offended with the taste of the selection of such an illustration, but you have got a vivid impression of the human sympathy of Christ that you never can forget. You regard its setting in a vivid portrayal of the human friendship of the Son of man. You think of it as an incident, as a spontaneous picture that suddenly was presented to his fancy, and in the rush of speech he painted what he saw without halting to choose some other illustration. His power of creating an ideal presence was a natural oratorical use of the imagination, with an oratorical and not an artistic purpose and manner. He was too earnest for the mere parade of his dramatic power, nor did he think of it for a moment. The same practical purpose controlled the humorous and pathetic elements in his style and his occasional use of satire; but he had borne too many burdens to be often satirical. His broad conception of oratory included the use of *every* power that God implants in a speaker. It takes the *whole* man to make a man. His theory of oratory regarded it as "the art of influencing conduct with the truth set home by *all* the resources of the living man." It is the art of making truth beautiful. Oratory is not an artificial thing, but a *living force*, that brings to itself "all the resources of the imagination, all the inspirations of feeling, all that is influential in voice, in eye, in gesture, in posture, in the whole animated man. It is in strict analogy with the divine thought and the divine arrangement."

The true test of success as a public speaker lies deeper than the temperamental qualities that interest and charm. The true test is *influence*, — the power to animate, guide, and control men. The qualities of person and intellect must be permeated by *character* of mind, — the shaping power of the speaker's manhood. Beecher owed his power over men to his courage, — the physical courage to face a Liverpool mob or a hostile audience at Richmond; the intellectual courage that met every new question with utmost candor, and led him to speak his latest thought; the moral courage that could endanger the integrity of life-long personal friendships and a forty years' pastorate, when he abandoned the Republican party with which he had worked from its birth. "I am born without moral fear," said he to the Manchester mob; "I express my views in any audience. I never could help doing it." This courage in the manhood revealed itself in the speaker and the writer. The manly movement and tenor of his language, the manliness of his bearing, took their root in his moral vitality. Then there was his whole-souled "enthusiasm of humanity." Merely to read his speeches and sermons is to feel the presence of a great heart, and a catholic interest, not only in man, but in men. He was a born philanthropist. To be brought into contact with his speaking or his writing was to feel one's self capable of the most

generous deeds, the highest and best sentiments. His written and spoken utterance palpitated throughout with his great soul. A more magnanimous man never breathed. "His heart," as Emerson said of Lincoln's, "was as great as the world, but there was no room in it to hold the memory of a wrong."

The circumstances in which Mr. Beecher employed his talent of speech compelled him to use a *practical* style. The spirit of the time was practical as well as impassioned. The people were occupied with serious practical problems, and they gradually came to look to him for enlightenment and help, especially on the moral and spiritual side of questions. Hence he spoke to them with firm strokes of *business-like, direct address*. His diction was, for the most part, plain, simple, free from pedantry. His style, so full of warmth and color, was, in the main, quickly intelligible to the average hearer. His brief, pungent sentences often had the effect of a succession of pistol shots; but there is one of his sentences under our eye as we write, containing eighty-five words, — a sentence of perfect clearness and harmony of members.

With his opulent imagination, mystical tendency, and love of philosophy, it would have been easy for him to be a visionary or a mere theorizer. But his abundant, shrewd, robust common sense, and the closeness of his sympathy with the actualities of life, kept his foot upon the *terra firma* of fact, while his eye was upon the beatific vision. There was a broad basis of reality in his teaching. Fact and imagination were happily wedded. His sermons show an insight into human nature, keen and profound. The springs of conduct, and the subtle influences in practical affairs that make or mar character, were open as daylight to his penetration. With his fine powers as an analyst of character, he was remarkably successful in applying the principles of Christ to the special needs of men. It would be difficult to name a sounder philosophical teacher on the motives, aspects, and duties of every-day religion. He was a pathologist in morals. His thorough acquaintance with the teachings of phrenology undoubtedly gave him power in his pertinent, definite, practical treatment of matters of character and conduct. He was a philosopher of life in the concrete. And yet, an intimate friend and admirer has said of him: "Mr. Beecher knows *man* better, and knows *men* less, than any other man I ever knew."

His penetrating sagacity, united with his pure, devoted patriotism, gave a distinct flavor of "Americanism" to his thought and expression. The *modern* spirit breathed in his nature. He was a great democrat in the true sense of the term. The distinctive features of the American character were embodied in his nature and in his speech. They arose genially out of the general, national mind. He was one of the eminences and embodiments of the national life, — independent, aggressive, somewhat combative, and yet receptive of new ideas, provided they be sound and true.

No enumeration of Mr. Beecher's characteristics as a public influence

through his oratory is sufficient to produce his portrait. He was more than an assemblage of qualities. Deeper than all qualities of character there is the indescribable something, baffling still to the philosophers, which we call *personality*. It is the subtle manner and degree of the *mixture* of the qualities that make up one's *peculiar* manhood. All the masters of speech have possessed good sense, strong emotions, clearness of insight, vividness of imagination, sympathy with men, power of language, ardent patriotism; many of them have been endued with wit and humor, social power, vigor of body, and buoyancy of spirits. In Mr. Beecher, the combination was marked by an unusual amplitude, weight, and energy of movement. He said once that "men of genius are not creatures of another nature; they are elder brethren of the race." In a true sense this elder brother suggested unlikeness of nature to others. Some one said that "Webster is like other folks, only there is *more of him*." So Beecher impresses us with his volume of manhood. But Beecher was a poet at the centre of his nature. His prolific imagination idealized and individualized every subject he touched. It was the *energy* of his imagination, of his intellectual character, language, large sympathy, and moral enthusiasm, that distinguished him from his contemporaries. In the philosophy of influence the essential point is missed if the secret of power over men is placed elsewhere than in *character*. The quality and force of influence are always measured by the weight, volume, and force of the manhood that exercises it.

One naturally shrinks from speaking familiarly of a man's spirituality of character, but it is as a *spiritual* force that the man of God must make his influence felt. The heat and light that radiate from the indwelling of the central Person and Power of all history must be a reality of his religious life before he can preach the Lord Jesus Christ with power. Leave out of this preacher's character the constantly energizing presence of his *vital faith*, and everything is left out. In Bushnell's phrase, he "was Christed all through" in every faculty of his being. The unfailing companionship of Christ was made vividly real to him through his loving heart and the ideal powers of his nature. He drew his inspiration from spiritual sources. He did more than exert power: he communicated it. His "faith-talent" was not always active; but in his best moments, by his presence as well as by his utterance, he made himself felt as a spiritual force and a fountain of spiritual influence. His ultimate power was organized Christian experience.

The interesting question, How far is this great modern preacher to be regarded as a model for young preachers? would lead us into a discussion of homiletics and of preaching too wide for our present purpose. He was an example only to his peers. That he was one of the most helpful and suggestive of preachers, in theory and practice, is readily admitted. His ideal of preaching and his personal methods of preparation are fully set forth in his "Yale Lectures on Preaching." Without

disparagement to the other admirable lectures delivered in the famous "Lyman Beecher Lectureship," none have surpassed his in practical or inspirational value.

It is weak and futile to try to imitate a genius. Mr. Beecher never posed as a model in anything. The right use to be made of Mr. Beecher's example is not by adopting the individual characteristics of his manner, either in style or delivery, but by nourishing one's power in his general method of study and preparation, which is so obvious in his incessant study of men wherever he found them, his study of the Bible, of great authors, great authorities, and, not least, the study of himself. "Look into your own heart and speak," is one important lesson to be learned from his method. "Be yourself," he would say; "speak your own words in your own way, and there will always be listeners."

Mr. Beecher knew how to read books. He had the art of skipping. But a book of genuine worth that could add to his power or his knowledge he read *verbatim*, critically, slowly absorbing as he went along. His preparation for speaking was governed by his extemporaneous method. He brooded over *subjects*, not over structure or words. He got at the truth of his subject through his sympathy and his imagination. At a certain stage of the brooding process the subject and its rhetorical treatment flashed upon him like a discovery, and lay before him as an objective reality. We can understand what the Greek dramatist meant when he told a man who inquired as to the progress of his comedy that he had finished it, not having yet written a single line, because he had *constructed the action in his mind*. The title of one of the compilations of Mr. Beecher's utterances expresses with precision the character of his sermons, — "Views and Experiences of Religious Subjects." The subject of the sermon was registered, but might not be used for months afterwards. On Sunday morning a selection was made from the topics that best fitted his mood; a full brief was made upon half-sheets of paper, and taken into the pulpit. Sometimes they were closely followed; sometimes the inspiration of the hour would take him far away from the *notes*, but not from the text or the subject. He simply had a new and probably a better "view." He was a *creative* speaker in the presence of an audience. The subject developed in the process of preaching. It is easy to see why he never could preach the same sermon upon the same text or theme. Thoroughness of preparation was a matter of intellectual conscience with him. The mental attitude towards a subject or a policy was taken with extreme mental caution; he appreciated the authority his views carried; but when the conclusion was reached, he maintained it with firmness, and poured upon it the profusion of his thought, language, and imagination. He was cautious in his mental processes, but reckless and prodigal in their final expression. His defect was not so much in the view itself as in the occasional extravagant vivacity of its discussion.

His method was not at all times extemporaneous. When he delivered his eulogy on Grant he held the printed slips in his left hand, read every

word, scarcely changed his position, made not a gesture, and raised his eyes from the page only now and then to fill up an expressive pause after some important idea that he intended to impress upon his auditors. And *what* reading it was! Its elocution was perfect. Many were disappointed in the orator, and felt that he did not rise to the occasion. Nor did he as a forensic orator; but in the solemnity of a funeral eulogy he most fittingly "suited the word to the action." It was a production *written* to be *read*. The reason of the method was implied in one of his opening sentences: "The mildewed lips of Slander are silent, and even Criticism hesitates, lest some *incautious* word should mar the history of the modest, gentle, magnanimous warrior."

In the use of the emotional elements of what may be called sacred prose Mr. Beecher may be imitated in spirit and purpose, if not in kind or degree. What is the distinction between the sermon and a theological lecture, if it is not that the sermon is *impassioned*, and is intended to produce an *immediate* influence upon life? It is not enough that sermons should be noble in subject and sound in teaching; they must partake of the nature of poetry, they must be touching and sympathetic. Oratorical prose in the pulpit needs this impassioned element. We are not advocating vehemence and rant; we mean the presence of *genuine feeling* penetrating good literary form, and controlled by a cultivated taste, — the communicated earnestness of a Christian gentleman, thoroughly prepared to speak upon a serious subject in the presence of an audience.

The *scenic* method — the "view and experience" method — of constructing a sermon, was peculiar to Mr. Beecher; it is natural to minds of the poetic order. A vital unity is given to discourse by this method, but the average preacher cannot safely follow it; nor is the average hearer benefited so much as by a more logical order of thought. Mr. Beecher lacked Webster's prime oratorical virtue, — the power of *organizing* a speech.

One strong word of counsel he always gave to young preachers, — study the science of health. He knew that the basis of many of the finest qualities of soul and spirit lies in the physical organization. He powerfully wielded his own higher forces because he had a powerfully effective body. He believed with Herbert Spencer that a prime condition for success in any pursuit is to be a *good animal*. His fidelity to the demands of his calling led him to study the development of his highest physical conditions; he discovered, and submitted to, a physical regimen which would best preserve his powers and sustain the buoyancy and elasticity of his temperament. As a result, he was almost always in a favorable mood for speaking. One of his parishioners, a man of fine scientific observation, speaks of three distinct mental states in his pastor, — the passive or resting state, the receptive and acquisitive state, and the spontaneously active or communicating state. Silence, sleep, and an abstemious diet were his chief preparatives in the resting state immediately before any public effort. He disciplined himself so that he could sleep

under most unfavorable circumstances. He prepared *himself* for his preaching, body, soul, and spirit. Sleep and a light but nourishing diet restored his nervous exhaustion. He generally avoided private entertainment on his lecturing tours, because of the draft that was made upon the nervous system in entertaining and being entertained in the house of comparative strangers. He was justified in economizing his nervous force for its prodigious expenditure in the public duty before him.

Our chief concern with Mr. Beecher's theology, philosophy, and ethics, in the present paper, relates to his intellectual convictions as an essential source of his energy of expression. His sympathy with the Spencerian phase of evolution as expressing the regular method of the divine action was the result of many years of thought and study. The bearing of the doctrine upon the preaching of the future is indicated in the extracts we are permitted to make from an unpublished letter that Mr. Beecher recently wrote to a young clergyman:—

"I have no doubt that the future will drive the old theological philosophy to the wall. Fortunate are they who foresee the coming change, and are prepared to meet it. The work of a minister is the education of man primarily in spiritual living. The *end* may be brought by the new views. All the facts of sinfulness, conversion, edification, and true holiness may be urged upon grounds of evolution without alarming men. The power of a minister lies in his *moral enthusiasm*. If one's ministry is really stimulating, if it excites and feeds the spiritual side of his auditors, they will not be captious about the philosophy on which he proceeds. In a man's own lifetime enthusiasm founded on truth is influential. A blazing heart can convey any philosophy, new or old, safely. That which evolutionary philosophy now needs is that, in practical life, it shall *bring forth fruit*. It has done so in physical science, is doing it in educational matters; *now for religion*. I could wish that I might begin my life over again with this theology in hand. It seems to me that my life would be tenfold more fruitful."

With this theology in hand he would have been more systematic in his teaching. His phrenological-evolutionary philosophy would not have harmonized with the prevailing theology. But when he made his celebrated Confession of Faith before the New York and Brooklyn Association, and, by his resignation, magnanimously relieved the Association of the responsibility of defending his theology, the Association passed a resolution declaring that "his exposition indicates the propriety of his continued membership in this or in any other Congregational Association."

The theological element in his teaching undoubtedly was inadequate. Judged by the standard of traditional orthodoxy, he was very defective; nor was he entirely satisfactory to many who were sympathetic with him in the emancipation of the mind from the tyranny of religious opinion and of ecclesiasticism. His mind was of the poetic and not of the scientific cast. He was not theological, either in aim or method. But he knew the theologies, every phase of them. In his intellectual tendency, he was philosophical; in feeling and method he was poetic. He was not

logical; he was *analogical*. Logical preachers regard truth as something to be proved; analogical preachers think it is something to be seen and felt; logical thinkers fancy that it is something to be manufactured and parceled out; the philosophical poet believes that it is something to be sought for and found. The poet often reaches the truth, while the mere scientist often misses it. Truth, to Mr. Beecher, was many-sided. He tried to approach it on one side after another without violence or egotism. He saw one "view" of truth at a time. He thought in sections, and did not trouble himself to find out whether or not the sections dovetailed or hung together. Emerson has been said to be unsystematic on principle. While the Emersons and the Beechers are not systematic reasoners, they still have their mission in giving powerful impulses to the spiritual life of their time. They make people believe truths of sentiment by vivid statement, not by proving them. The *preacher's* business is not to move and turn the hearts of men towards purity and righteousness by syllogistic reasoning. Scientific statements do not attract and persuade men living under the stress of life. It is truth that *shines* upon them and kindles; that comes to them again with the indefinable accent that is born of clear vision, and sympathy, and experience of life. Truth coming in this way, it is, that attracts the people and persuades them to the teacher's doctrine.

This larger influence of speech was not impaired by Beecher's logical or theological poverty and indifference. Men want a speaker to speak with the authoritative tone of *conviction*. Conviction arises out of certainties. We are sure that it would have been better for Mr. Beecher's fame, better for his parish which includes so large a part of the English-speaking Christian world, if he had been more serious and positive in theology. There would have been greater consistency and firmness of fibre in his teaching had he cultivated the scientific spirit. What he saw he saw clearly, and stated firmly. But he would have been more luminous had he been more coherent. He saw *so much*, however, had so much freedom and spaciousness of "spiritual clairvoyance," that he always spoke *positively*, with the power and accent of *conviction*.

Having suggested, in this necessarily imperfect survey, the growth of the genius of a great preacher and citizen, the occasions of its exercise, the province of his career as a speaker, the characteristics of his oratorical production, and the sources and elements of his power, we gladly leave him where more competent hands have placed him. In force and volume of manhood, in fullness, richness, and brilliancy of ideas, in a career of forty years of uninterrupted service in such a variety of fields, as lecturer, philanthropist, patriot, and preacher, and all this united with a matchless gift of eloquence, he was preëminently the Christian orator of the English-speaking preachers, and the foremost private citizen of the Republic. He deserves the pride and praise of his countrymen because he was one of the most suggestive, one of the broadest thinkers of his time on matters of religion and conduct; he was one of the most help-

ful of thinkers, because he was a beneficent thinker. If modern criticism is right in making the essential greatness of the poet to consist in his "powerful and beautiful application of ideas to life," the palm of greatness can be accorded to this preacher, who, in the range, depth, and penetration of his criticism of life, is by far the most eminent preacher of the century. No preacher has had such a capacity for *feeling life*, or has dealt with life, as a whole, so powerfully.

The loss of his autobiography is immeasurable. Many autobiographies have shown us that no man is really fitted to be his own biographer, but there was such frank, cordial simplicity in this man, who touched humanity and the national life at so many points, that we cannot help feeling that a record of great value and exceeding interest has been broken by the hand of death. What biographer shall statue this incomparable man? Almost any one may feel that his forehead does not touch the feet of the noble figure; but it is from below that we appreciate impressive objects. Fortunate will be the great preacher's fame if that possessor of all the requisite biographic qualifications for this specific task — Dr. Lyman Abbott — will do for his master and friend, and with similar perfection of mechanical form, what Stanley did for Thomas Arnold, and Stopford Brooke for Frederick Robertson. Defects of teaching and defects of character will be recorded. When they are brought to light by such a biographer, we shall not refuse to see them. "Nothing could be more distasteful to his honest, modest soul while living," said the dead orator of his hero, Grant, and we may say of himself, "than lying exaggerations and fulsome flatteries. Men without faults are apt to be men without force. The faults of great and generous natures are often the shadows which their virtues cast." But there is noble praise for him which far outweighs the deficiencies. In the life-long warfare that he waged against the slavery of moral evil, and in behalf of intellectual, religious, and political liberty, he wielded the weapon of oratory with the splendid excellences of insight, sincerity, sympathy, simplicity, and strength. "Lay on his coffin a sword; for he was a brave, brilliant, and effective soldier in the war of liberation of humanity."

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

STUDIES IN SOCIAL LIFE. A Review of the Principles, Practices, and Problems of Society. By GEORGE C. LORIMER, LL.D., author of "The Great Conflict," "Jesus the World's Savior," "Isms Old and New." 12mo, pp. 484. Chicago and New York: Belford, Clarke & Co. 1886. \$1.00.

THAT in the midst of his many labors Dr. Lorimer should be able to give to the public a book of nearly five hundred pages on the topic which calls to itself, beyond all other subjects, universal attention indicates his immense diligence. This is not a book hastily written, a collection of disconnected opinions, a mere compilation. It begins with a chapter on the Solidarity of Society, in which are discussed such parts of the great theme as Paternalism in Government, the Ethics of Selfishness, Heredity, and other cognate subjects. As such a book, to have value, must necessarily be crowded with facts, Dr. Lorimer seems mentally to have journeyed round the world in search of such instances as are demanded for purposes of illustration. There is great skill shown in introducing these facts where they tell for all they are worth. His arguments are drawn in all cases from a sufficiently wide induction. The mere theorist on social economics can have no influence with thinking men. Only he who, by laborious investigation, has made himself thoroughly familiar with his theme can expect to command the public ear.

Dr. Lorimer's sympathies are unreservedly though by no means fanatically with the toiling many. While he offers no apology for their follies and excesses, but laments and deplors them, yet with their struggles to obtain a just and adequate share of the bounties of nature he is in complete accord. Unlike most writers on social questions he does not assume that any mechanical re-adjustment of society can be of any permanent value to any one. The roots of the difficulties and dangers, which all thoughtful men recognize, are in the avariciousness of the nature of man, in the selfishness of his heart, and in his inability to do justice or even to perceive, when money profits are to be made, what justice is. Herein Dr. Lorimer's book, for its superiority and completeness, must commend itself to the Christianized portion of our people. If, however, the book occupied itself simply in pointing to the sad facts of our socialism and in tracing them to the depraved condition of human nature, it would not possess the value which belongs to it in its present thoroughness of treatment. Without assuming the competency to suggest remedies which will speedily cure the disease and produce a robust condition of social health, Dr. Lorimer ventures to indicate in what direction legislation must move. His belief in the possibility of law being so administered as to approximate more nearly than it does to absolute justice is set forth in some of the most vigorous passages which the book contains. "Seeing the wants and woes of mankind, we have appealed to education — that the misery may be more intense by being known, we suppose; or we have advocated wholesale almsgiving, by which personal dignity is diminished and general shiftlessness increased. *But all this time we seem to have overlooked the functions and value of justice.* It does not occur to us that after all liberty is but a temple for the exaltation of justice, and that it is not only without God and altar when justice is absent, but is preparing to crumble to pieces."

The chapters on *The Inequalities of Society*, on *The Vices of Society*, and on *The Impositions of Society*, have impressed us as of special value. Everywhere the book is all aglow with the fervor of a heart in sympathy with the men, women, and children, whose toil is of such a nature, and conducted under such conditions, that it amounts to nothing less than chronic suffering. At the same time a holy indignation is felt and expressed at the recklessness and wastefulness of workmen in our large cities, but most of all does that indignation burn when it meets organizations of men who are banded together that they may resist all interference with their traffic in the demoralization of the weak and wretched. From whatever point of view we regard this book it is eminently satisfactory, — eloquent in its style, philosophical in its methods, sound in its arguments, crowded with facts, free from fanaticism, yet all aglow with feeling, — among the many books which have recently been given to the public on social questions it is the peer of the best. From thinking men who are able to look beneath the mere phenomena of social life to the life itself, those who perceive that it is impossible to make the fruit good if the tree be bad, this book will command interest and even sympathy, while books of the fanatical and materialistic kind, like that of Lawrence Gronland, will be rejected as shallow and impracticable. It would be useless to attempt, in a brief notice, any synopsis of a book of this order. It demands a thorough reading in order to an appreciation of the quality of its workmanship.

Reuben Thomas.

BROOKLINE.

EMINENT AUTHORS OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY. *Literary Portraits.* By Dr. GEORG BRANDES. Translated from the Original by RASMUS B. ANDERSON, United States Minister to Denmark, author of "*Norse Mythology*," "*Viking Tales of the North*," etc., etc. 12mo, pp. vii., 460. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell & Co. \$2.00.

THESE literary portraits are those of John Stuart Mill, the Englishman; Ernest Renan, Gustave Flaubert, the Frenchmen; Paul Heyse, the German; Hans Christian Andersen, Frederik Paludan-Müller, the Danes; Esaias Tegnér, the Swede; and Henrik Ibsen and Björnsterne Björnson, the Norwegians. The author himself is a Dane, although he writes this work in German. He writes entirely from the point of view of what he esteems the "modern" spirit, meaning by this the emancipation of the human mind from all belief in God, free will, or any eternal significance of existence, so that the swing and glory of its natural powers may be unchecked by any thought which should interfere with its untroubled enjoyment of this world. Of this "modern" spirit Renan, Heyse, Flaubert, and Ibsen are absolutely representatives; Mill, to a certain extent; Björnson, at least as being disengaged from orthodoxy; and Tegnér, though a bishop, as having borne the repute of a libertine, and as being one who accepted Christianity only as a pale substitute for that glorious jubilee of the race which it celebrated in the strength of its Pagan youth, both in the North and in the South. Even for Paludan-Müller he has this to say, that his rigorous orthodoxy is a thing apart, that his real ideal of life and death is much nearer akin to Brahminism than to the gospel.

The author is diffuse, but never tedious. Being released from every

objective norm, he is not unfrequently vague. But he always understands himself and his subjects, and most of his vagueness is merely as respects us, who are so scantily acquainted with these originals, and with the contemporary background against which they stand out. His treatment of Mill, whom we know best, is justly affectionate and enthusiastic. He compares this great and noble-minded man, with pardonable exaggeration, if indeed he does exaggerate, to Marcus Aurelius himself. Far from being irritated, like Mill's English disciples, by his leanings towards Christianity, he passes these over in indulgent silence. Of Heyse he writes with the unbounded warmth which he holds worthy of his fullness of genius, and his devotion to the worship of the "free and noble Eros." His Eros, however, is not the mighty principle whom the ancients conceived as the parent of the universal order. Nor yet is he the son of Venus Meretrix. Both Heyse and Brandes, and the latter more than the former, make the world cordially welcome to all the ethical elements which may chance to emerge out of the unrestrained appetencies of this fundamental instinct. The glory of woman Heyse places in the energy of maiden resistance, giving piquancy to a submission that is then to be as free as nature. Heyse even, as a devoted servant of the great god, sings the praises of successful, and celebrates the martyrdom of unsuccessful violence. Yet both he and his Danish admirer sorrowfully admit that the Philistine masses cannot rise to the height of this sublime doctrine, that they must be allowed to assume an ethical purpose and norm as at the foundation of life. Nay, in the ardor of his worship of that divinity in favor of whom he scornfully disavows every other, Heyse presses forward into the contemplation of ancient realities from which his admiring critic shrinks back. Into this Most Unholy Place the superior flamen advances alone, and he but once in a lifetime.

Renan, a man of absolutely correct life, appears hardly worthy of this high company, although if he has said, in excuse of the present worship of Lubricity among his countrymen, that Nature knows nothing of chastity, this should count high for his admission into it. His atheism, materialism, and contempt of human kind (all which, it appears, are much more intense and absolute in his conversation than in his writings) are all illustrious merits as far as they go, but hardly point in the same direction. But of Flaubert, as interpreted by our author, there is no doubt. One who revels in the portrayal of moral hideousness, without cherishing the faintest hope of a possibility of redemption from it, is company good enough, any day, for Lucifer himself. Even the Norwegian Ibsen, though, in his regret of "the days of the guillotine of blessed memory," he avows himself a priest of Moloch, as Heyse of Eros and Mylitta, is not the peer of Flaubert. Ibsen only gives himself up to portraying every life and every ideal, actual or possible, collective or individual, past, present, or future, as utterly hollow and unrealizable; we do not understand that he revels in rottenness. The author's paper on Flaubert appears to us to bear the palm. And it reminds us of a just censure which he pronounces on Paludan-Müller's conception of Antichrist, that he makes him much too monstrously and therefore stupidly wicked. Our author, speaking out of the inmost Antichristian camp, though before the manifestation of that great Leader on whose advent his faithful ones are waiting, in the hope of at last chasing the Carpenter's Son out of the world, might alone supply us with thoughts enough to furnish out not unworthily a dramatic personation of the Antichrist. Genial appreciations of opposing schools;

sound and searching principles of true civilization; enlightened zeal for universal knowledge; love of nature, and of beauty, and even of moral beauty, all these are found in abundance. His paper on Björnson is such as an enlightened Christian might enter into almost from first to last. Björnson and Sverdrup have the first praise of having set Norwegian nationality up on high above the further danger of royal and Swedish encroachment. The paper on Hans Christian Andersen is most instructive. "An animal is a child that is always a child; and a plant is a child that is always asleep." And of Tegnér he speaks with such a reproduction of the brilliant Scandinavian transparency as makes its way through the veil of two languages not vernacular to the writers. And all these are interwoven with his essential principles and purpose in such a way as to explain to us how it is that he rises into almost an agony of appreciation of Flaubert's "St. Anthony," when the hermit is made to see Jehovah contemptuously bidden to yield precedence to the Roman belly-god Crepitus, as both are tumbled over the precipice of annihilation, until at last the radiant archangel who tells the hermit, "I, Science, free the winds and weigh the worlds, without fear, without pity, without love, and without God," suddenly turning into the arch-fiend, exclaims, "Adore me, and curse the mockery you have called God."

All prophecy has an element of illusion as to time. But do we not here almost hear the clanging hymns of the Elect of Damnation, raising the strain of long-delayed fulfillment:—

"Advenisti, desiderabilis,
Quem expectabamus e tenebris?"

Charles C. Starbuck.

NAUKRATIS, Part I., 1884-85. By W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE. Folio, pp. viii., 100. Pl. XLIV. London: Messrs. Trübner & Co. 1886.

THE sources of the Nile have provoked greater interest in the past than has the Delta. In future this is likely to be reversed. For the Egypt Exploration Fund, though not yet seven years old, is drawing wonder after wonder from the region of the Seven Mouths. As Assyrian excavation has waned, so Egyptian excavation has waxed. The outlook in the "Field of Zoan" was never brighter. We may accept "Naukratis" I. as more than a brilliant achievement. It is a magnificent prophecy.

Some of our readers will recall how Mr. Petrie, while negotiating for lodgings in the yard of a farmhouse near a Tel unknown even to the officials of Cairo, stumbled on a fragment of limestone where, with his heart in his mouth, he read: Η ΠΟΛΙΣ Η ΝΑΥΚΡΑΤΙΣ (the City of Naukratis). This memoir takes up the story. In it he has given the Delta according to Ptolemy's *Geographia* and the Roman road-map of Conrad Peutinger. Combining with these Herodotus, Strabo and Pliny, he has located Naukratis near the *Canobic* arm of the Nile, precisely where his mound Nebireh stood. When did this famous Greek emporium rise? About 670 B. C., he supposes. Scarabs of Psammeticus I. and seventh-century pottery remains concur with Athenaios, who tells of a Cyprus merchant dedicating a statue of Aphrodite there in 688 B. C. An older Greek mart lay in the Eastern Delta. This, Egyptian Amasis, the conqueror of the Phil-Hellene Apries, destroyed. If he thus propitiated the Egyptian party jealous of foreigners, he strengthened himself

by adopting Greek troops for his body-guard in Memphis. Thenceforth Naukratis, whose manufactures received a disastrous blow by Apries's defeat, received a commercial monopoly by Amasis's favor. Its site on a canal made the place independent of the inundation. Its connection with the ocean and its proximity to the capital made it a natural centre of traffic. The fame of its flowers and pottery became world-wide.

Some explorers are deterred from print by the spectre of incompleteness. They will not be exposed to change their opinions upon fuller light, and so sacrifice by delay the aid of other scholars and the freshness of public interest. Fortunately for us, Mr. Petrie is not like them. In the practice of his "golden principle to let each year see the publication of the year's work," he has offered an intelligible and useful report, enriched by the monographs of specialists in different fields. "Naukratis" I. is an illustrated encyclopædia. As Professor Middleton writes in the "Academy": "This record forms a very important advance in our knowledge of the early Greek world."

Mr. Petrie "moved a trench steadily eastward" till he had uncovered hundreds of bowls dedicated to Apollo, alongside the remains of two successive temples in a Temenos. The base of a column he photographed, "while the finder stood by, hammer in hand, waiting to smash it." His Great Temenos is the Hellenion of Herodotus. That joint labor of nine cities was a town-hall, under the open sky, for 60,000 men, a fortification 50 feet thick and 40 feet high, 870 long by 846 wide, for the Greek race in Egypt. It contained an impregnable storehouse, whose only entrance was 18 feet above ground. Thanks to some children, who took refuge from the rain in a shaft and played at scraping out sand, the foundation deposits of a second building were unearthed. They were instruments of ceremony, tools, and materials. A long bronze knife, sandstone corn-rubbers, the iron mortar-rake for mixing building-mortar, a bronze chisel, adze, and trowel, were accompanied by a neat brick of Nile mud, plaques of turquoise and jasper, chips of lapis lazuli and obsidian used in mosaic-work, and, lastly, by sample model ingots of copper, iron, lead, silver, and gold. Diagrams make these finds as real as though the reader were on the spot.

One hardly knows which chapter to commend most highly. The antiquarian will plunge into "The Houses of Naukratis and their Contents." There he will find stone hammers, scarabs of many colors, iron tools of home smelting and make, bronze boxes with sacred reptiles on top, mirror rings of dandies, silver bracelets ending in Isis and Osiris. The numismatologist will read with interest of the coin minted in Naukratis, and struck, in the name of Alexander, with the effigy of Aphrodite bejeweled and becurled. The philologist, again, will trace eagerly the Ionic alphabet from its earliest infancy, under the accomplished guidance of Mr. Gardner, among the inscriptions. The artist will linger before the painted pottery, where Mr. Smith will introduce him to Egyptian, Assyrian, and Cyrenian ware, no less than to the true Naukratian, "coated with a creamy white engobe, on which the decoration is laid in black, tending to brown or orange, sometimes with accessories of purple." The merchant, the economist, and the statistician will recur to the weights, which, from the dome-topped Egyptian kat and the barrel Assyrian shekel to the discoid Attic drachma and cheeselike Roman uncia, have been found in enormous numbers and compared with microscopic pains.

The American public is to be congratulated that it paid almost half of

the sum expended last year to work these amazing results. It is not strange that Rev. W. C. Winslow, of Boston, has received an LL. D. in recognition of his indefatigable services as vice-president and treasurer of the Fund. It will be sad if the friends of classic, oriental, and sacred discovery among his fellow-citizens do not forthwith double their numerical and financial support of his Society.

John Phelps Taylor.

THE SIMPLICITY THAT IS IN CHRIST. Sermons to the Woodland Church, Philadelphia. By LEONARD WOOLSEY BACON. 12mo, pp. 339. New York: Funk & Wagnalls. 1886. \$1.50.

THIS book is from one of the most brilliant and gifted men of our times. Perhaps it may be expected that the word *erratic* would occur in any such designation of Dr. Bacon. Undoubtedly he has a degree of loyalty to his convictions and a certain courage in following their lead, which is chivalric, and when brought into collision with the actual facts of life may easily become Quixotic. But it must be remembered that the actual facts of life are often of the windmill order, and that it is not always easy even for a true knight to determine, through the fog, which is a hostile castle and which is a harmless grinding-tower. Surely, it is better to err by making an occasional false attack than to lose the opportunity of leveling the stronghold of some veritable robber of the Rhine. It will not, however, lessen the interest of the public in these sermons to learn that they are written by our King Henry of Navarre rather than by some solemn monk. We all would like to read a book on the art of war from the "Some one who blundered" in ordering the charge of the Light Brigade at Balaklava. It would have life and movement in it, at least. The chances are, moreover, that it would have more new things, and true things, and worthy things, and profoundly important things in it, than the most mathematical production of the most accurate professor in the military academy.

In this case, all this guerrilla charmingness is united to an extensive and accurate scholarship, and to an acute and intuitive insight. What Dr. Bacon says, and especially what he prints, is worthy any man's attention. His English, too, is worthy any man's imitation.

A neat sentence occurs in the introduction, which is not inapplicable to another locality. Dr. Bacon seems to have been a puzzle to some of the Catechism divines of Philadelphia, where these sermons were preached. The misfortune of this class of anxious theologians usually is, that, while they are sure something is wrong, they are unable to state or to discover exactly what it is. Occasionally we have examples of this pitiable bewilderment even in New England. "Oh, that mine enemy would write a book!" is the constant ejaculation of these pious but perplexed souls. Dr. Bacon kindly offers his help in this fashion: "It has been my misfortune that while those who have been constantly attendant on my ministry have seemed generally to approve of it as something salutary and good, some of those who know nothing about it should be dissatisfied, not to say aggrieved at it, and much disposed to find fault with it. To such, it seems an act of kindness to offer them some material for their fraternal labors. I am afraid they will be disappointed in the book; but they may be assured that they were considered in the selection of ser-

mons for it, with the honest purpose of giving them such as they would enjoy being displeased with."

An illustration of Dr. Bacon's insight to which I have referred occurs on the next page.

Certainly, no shrewder annotation on the ways of a blundering unscientific orthodoxy will be found than the following:—

"If anything is clearly taught by the history of religious corruption, it is this, that the carnal mind likes its doctrines tough; is not content, in religion, with things easy, direct, simple, intelligible, reasonable; finds no virtue in receiving what is clear, or believing what is proved; finds plain gospel quite insipid without a flavoring of metaphysics or a garnish of tradition. The carnal mind is much given to the building of systems, and fertile of material for filling the gaps therein. The carnal mind knows a great deal, and knows it with uncommon positiveness and precision. The carnal mind has found out the Almighty to perfection. Two evil tendencies vex the church in every age: without is agnosticism, and within is hypergnosticism; either of the twain abets the other."

The following, also from the introduction, is too fine a specimen of a manly bearing toward all earnest endeavors after larger and deeper truths, even though they may seem to us unsuccessful speculations, to be omitted just at this time. There are thousands who are far enough from the childish exuberance which believes that whatever is new is true, who will yet read with pleasure the following definition of the New Theology:—

"One point I hope to gain by this publication is to discover, through the good offices of my critics, whether or not I am of 'the new theology.' For it is confidently and sometimes plaintively asserted that there is such a thing as 'the new theology;' otherwise we might not have discovered any fact more serious than this, that there are sundry theological writers, more or less diverging from each other, and from their predecessors,—certainly no novel phenomenon, but one common to every *Annus Domini* of all the eighteen hundred. If any one could compute the resultant of these divergent forces at any given period, I suppose that would be the 'new theology' for that time. If it should appear from such computation that the 'new theology' of our time consists mainly in these three tendencies: (1) to concentrate study upon the life and person of Jesus Christ; (2) to accept with a docile mind the teaching of the Bible concerning itself; (3) to subordinate sectarian and provincial theologies to the fellowship of belief in the church universal;—then I would gladly count myself on the side of the new theology,—or count the new theology to be on my side."

This trenchant introduction is followed by a series of sermons of rare suggestiveness and power. The simplicity of the way of coming to Christ by faith and repentance; the simplicity of Christ's nature and person; the miracles in which his divine authority was manifested; the story of his advent; the two divine revelations in Nature and the Scriptures; the doctrine of the last things; an analysis of certain Biblical characters,—are followed by a discussion of the means and method of God's indwelling in the human soul. The closing sermon gives his reasons for declining an installation under the forms of the Presbyterian Church.

John P. Gulliver.

A GREEK-ENGLISH LEXICON OF THE NEW TESTAMENT, being GRIMM'S WILKE'S *Clavis Novi Testamenti*. Translated, revised, and enlarged by JOSEPH HENRY THAYER, D. D., Bussey Professor of New Testament Criticism and Interpretation in the Divinity School of Harvard University. 4to, pp. xix., 726. Harper & Brothers: New York. 1887. \$5.00.

THE appreciation in which lexicons and lexicon-makers have sometimes been held may be inferred from the following quotation from the younger Scaliger: "If the severe sentence of a judge ever awaits one, to condemn him to hardships and punishments, let neither the penitentiary weary him with the manufacture of the raw material, nor let the ore dug from the mines hurt his hard hands; just let him compose a lexicon. For why should I mention anything else? Surely this single labor hath all the forms of torture." The sulphurous odor of the following still more significant sentiment indicates the substantial orthodoxy of its author:—

... "condendaque lexica mandat
Damnatis, poenam pro poenis omnibus unam."

With such standard authority for the rewards due to lexicographers, they should abandon all hope of mercy when they begin their work, as when they pass the portal to Avernus. Indeed, to some of them it is not easy to extend much mercy.

Most readers come to a lexicon either in an impatient or in a lazy frame of mind, and both regard and use the lexicon as a necessary evil. They wish to obtain the information, at the moment needed, with the least possible delay, and be done with the lexicon. Professor Thayer has been mindful of this impatience, and has judiciously availed himself of the various typographical devices which the printer's art commands. Notwithstanding all the additions he has made, in round and square brackets, in large and small type, to Grimm's original, his book is much more attractive, convenient, and readable than that creditable specimen of German typographical skill. By bold-faced numerals following the graded spaces which introduce each new definition, and by using spaced Roman to mark emphasis, and thus reserving Italics for the definitions, the arrangement is such, that, after a little familiarity with the book, the student consults it with positive delight. Yet in the first one hundred or more pages the printer has been sometimes neglectful of the blank spaces.

In consulting some of the older lexicons, a student is often compelled to go back and say to himself: "How does *this* meaning differ from the last?" A more striking illustration of the progress in New Testament lexicography can hardly be desired than is afforded by a comparison of the article *πνεῦμα*, in the book under review, with the same word in Schleusner, a work which, in the estimate of some scholars, has not yet outlived its usefulness. In Schleusner twenty-three different significations are given to the word *πνεῦμα*, and to the word *ἐν* thirty-one meanings, all so perplexing that a reader knows not where to look for what he wants. If he be not both courageous and faithful, after a few bewildering glances he will give his lexicon a shove and guess at the meaning of the word.

In definitions, one word, if it be the right one, better enables the mind to catch the true idea than a multitude of loose and approximate statements, which furnish only broken and hazy outlines. Simplicity and sharpness, the essential elements of a definition, are qualities difficult for

a translator to secure. The use of Professor Thayer's lexicon, side by side with that of Cremer, for instance, the murkiness of whose statements is so annoying, will frequently prompt the reader to thank Professor Thayer for his pains. Even he would have rendered a still greater service had he introduced wood-cuts to illustrate some such material objects as *δραχμή*, *λεπτόν*, *κοδράντης*, *βίβλος*, *ἐπενδύτης*, *ἱμάτιον*, and *χιτών*.

In the older lexicons there is immense room for improvement in the selection of vouchers. Sometimes they give so many as to leave the reader in obscurity; sometimes so few as to awaken the suspicion that the reader is expected to rely on the lexicographer's dogmatic assertion. But it is these vouchers which mark the difference between the hungry literary cormorant and the conscientious scholar. The one devours indiscriminately everything within his reach, or else employs those who have nothing to recommend them save skill in the use of scissors; the other sifts his materials by careful study, and reserves only such as have for the student present and practical utility. In current lexicons, vouchers are often adduced indiscriminately from writers of all periods, and from all kinds of literature. "Diod." and "Xen." are given as the only authority for words like *ἀρχαῖος* and *νομίζω*, in common use from Pindar down. "Ælian," "Polyb.," "Xen.," "Plut.," "Dem.," stand at haphazard as authorities for such words as *ἔπος*, *εἶπον*, *ἥλιος*, *ἵππος*, *λέων*, *αἰσχρος*, *διδάσκαλος*, *δύναμις*, *νεφέλη*, *στήθος*, *πόνος*, *εὐρίσκω*, *στέφανος*, and scores of others in common use from Homer down. Such lexicons are no longer endurable. We demand the *time* of a word's appearance in Greek literature, the *extent* of its use by various classes of writers, and the changes it underwent. What a volume of instruction, for instance, is wrapped up in the history of the word *κόσμος*! A scholar familiar only with the sense which *ἀθλέω* bears in the classic period may be surprised to see "the poniard" specified as figuring in the "public games," but when the Epistles to Timothy were written, the games, even in Greece, had come to include the barbaric and Oriental features of gladiatorial combats and contests with wild beasts. Professor Grimm is therefore right in omitting "Grecian" from the usual definition of *ἀθλέω*, that is, "to contend in the Grecian games," and in throwing "Olympian," etc., into a parenthesis, as a passing illustration. Yet he should have appended vouchers from some of the later authors, substantiating the use of the word, as covering something more than the classic *πεντάθλον*.

Professor Thayer's treatment of synonymous terms forms a new and valuable feature of the lexicon. See, *e. g.*, *δίκτυον* and its synonyms; *ἄλλος* and *ἕτερος*, *καινός* and *νέος*, *καιρός* and *χρόνος*, *βίος* and *ζωή*, *θεότης* and *θειότης*, *θυμός* and *ὀργή*, *λαλέω* and *λέγω*, *ἁμάρτημα*, *ἁμαρτία*, *παράβασις* and the other words denoting sin, *λοῦω* and *νίπτω*, *δύναμις*, *ἐξουσία*, *κράτος*, and the other words signifying power, *διάκονος*, *δοῦλος*, *ὑπηρέτης*, *ὄραω* and *βλέπω*, *κόπος*, *μόγθος* and *πόνος*, *ἐλέω* and *οἰκτείρω*. A noted divine, preaching recently on Matt. v. 44, "Love your enemies," confessed with undisguised emotion his inability to love his enemies as he would. Now if this clergyman, distinguished as he is for the firmness with which he holds and maintains the doctrine of "power to the contrary," had studied Professor Thayer's article on *ἀγαπᾶν* and *φιλεῖν*, he would have learned that his text did not command him to exercise a *feeling*, but rather a *choice*, and would have saved his tears. The whole article on *ἀγαπᾶν* is full of beauty. Its luminous definition together with its references furnish material for many a useful sermon.

One cannot too much admire the impartiality with which doctrinal terms are treated; *e. g.*, see *δικαιοσύνη, αἷμα, ἱλαστήριος, τελειώω*, etc. A reader in the heat of theological controversy may be disappointed that the meaning given to these and other words is no more in accord with the unmistakable trend of modern thought, but both author and editor have evidently striven after judicial impartiality. They have endeavored fairly to reproduce the simple historical and Scriptural meaning, keeping in the background alike their own views and those of the various schools of post-apostolic speculation.

Many a man has been carried away by an imaginary philological argument for some pet theory which it seems unkind to disturb, but, as the lexicographer expects no mercy, so he knows none; *e. g.*, under *οἶνος* he will not invent a distinction between fermented and unfermented grape juice which did not exist. So, on page 428, in a few words, the *quietus* is given to a favorite theory that *νόμος*, without the article, denotes, not the law of Moses, but law viewed as a universal principle; and page 441 upsets the defense of *pædobaptism* once supposed to hinge on the difference between *οἶκος* and *οἰκία*.

The valuable chapter in the Appendix, page 698, on Words peculiar to Individual New Testament Writers, by no means exhausts the information given respecting the verbal characteristics of the several authors. In the body of the work we learn that *καταργέω* is used by Paul twenty-five times, elsewhere in the New Testament but twice; that *λογίζομαι* is found twenty-seven times in the Pauline Epistles, only four times in the rest of the New Testament; that *τέκνον*, in the Gospels, is a term of endearment, applied to children and pupils, but that Paul advances a step farther, and uses the word of those who are animated by the spirit of God. So under *νός*, notice the care taken to give the exact meaning of the much debated expressions *νός τοῦ ἀνθρώπου* and *νός τοῦ θεοῦ*, and the peculiarities of their use by different writers. See, also, useful remarks of the same nature under *ζωή*.

Professor Thayer deserves commendation for the pains he has taken to supplement Grimm, in giving the Latin equivalent, especially that of the Vulgate. He has also given the readings of Griesbach correctly where Grimm, in common with New Testament scholars, has too often disregarded the variable judgments indicated by the signs in Griesbach's notes.

When, under *ἀμαρτία*, Professor Thayer is explaining Rom. viii. 3, he contents himself with a mere reference to Meyer. It would have been better to refer also to the rendering of the Revised Version: namely, "as an offering for sin." Again, under *αἰών* I. a. sub. fin., he might with propriety have noted the fact that the Revision in 1 Cor. ii. 7 takes the word concretely, and accordingly refers the passage to the small number "2." Yet this whole question of insertion and omission is the one about which critics will differ most. It would not be surprising if the book, by different reviewers, were accused now of "prolixity," and now of "insufficient treatment," and that too with reference to one and the same word. There are times when a mere word-book, like Mr. T. S. Green's, is sufficient to recall a forgotten meaning, and therefore is more acceptable than a folio; but when a critical study of a word is to be made, we want not only the results of the most exhaustive investigation, but also the means of confirming or disproving the author's judgment. At such times no treatment however elaborate, no research however minute,

no remark however "finical" it may seem at other times, can come amiss. We therefore want either a pocket lexicon or else the complete results of the most careful scholarship; nothing between. Now if the experience of twenty years in teaching the Greek Testament to candidates for the ministry, and listening to their questions, does not enable a man to know what difficulties should be explained, and how minutely, what aid rendered and what authors referred to, then how would a man become qualified to produce such a work?

This criticism — too much detail here, too little there — often throws more light on the hobbies of the critic, than on the merits and demerits of the lexicon. We all like to see our own pet notions indorsed. For instance, a Concord philosopher would even add to the admirable fullness with which such words as *νοῦς*, *ψύχη* and *πνεῦμα* are treated. An ethnologist would, under *γένος*, add a reference to Grote iii. 55, and an Orientalist would discuss the article *Μωσῆς* more exhaustively, making reference to the Sanskrit *Maha*, to the Arabic *Musa* suggesting an affinity with the sage *Musæus*, or the identity of Moses with the Egyptian *Ames* whose name became *Omses*, then *Ses*, then *Set* or *Seth*, and would thus try to prove that the Hebrews, like all other ancient nations, had leanings towards ancestral worship. Quite possibly there are men who would take more delight in such a chain of philological and mythical nonsense than in all the rest of the book. Given the proclivities of a critic, we can foretell the articles he would condense and the articles he would expand. Meanwhile, the universally acknowledged excellence of the lexicon is its uniform exhaustiveness, its freedom from hobbies, its painstaking accuracy, its impartial conscientious adherence to the New Testament as it is, rather than as one might wish it to be. Both at home and abroad it has been welcomed — after years of patient waiting and of high anticipation — as the most valuable contribution yet made to the literature of the New Testament, worthy of one of the first scholars of our time.

Lysander Dickerman.

ROXBURY.

COMMENTARY ON ST. PAUL'S FIRST EPISTLE TO THE CORINTHIANS. By F. GODET, Doctor of Theology, Professor of the Faculty of the Independent Church of Neuchâtel. Translated from the French by Rev. A. CUSIN, M. A. Edinburgh. Vol. I.; pp. vi., 428. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1886. New York: Scribner & Welford.

STUDENTS of the New Testament unable to read French will give a hearty welcome to this installment of Professor Godet's last work. Those qualities which have given his earlier commentaries their high reputation — graceful expression, luminous statement, exact learning, and deep religious feeling — are found here in full measure. If occasionally an opinion is expressed which seems fanciful, — as, for example, that the Sosthenes associated with Paul in the salutation of the Epistle is the ruler of the Jewish synagogue of the same name (of whose conversion there is no proof), or that Paul was using sarcasm when he said that the Corinthian Church "came behind in no gift," — the play of the author's lively fancy does not often disturb his judgment. A fuller citation and discussion of the opinions of contemporary scholars would have increased the value of the commentary for professional students. At the same time it would have

made it less readable; and it must be owned that such a commentary as this, with its literary beauty and flavor of individuality, has important advantages over the recent German New Testament commentaries, in which the comments of Meyer or De Wette lie imbedded in the opinions of the last editor like stones cased in rough cement.

The chief fault of the present work is that an anxiety to guard Paul's apostolical authority sometimes mars the exegesis, as, for example, when the apostle's expressed preference of celibacy over marriage on religious grounds is discussed.

The translation is unworthy of the original. If the translator had acquired command of English idioms he could hardly have written such expressions as "saints by call" (called to be saints), "abstracting wholly from" (entirely dissenting from), "a vexatious recrudescence of the old pagan habits." It is an irony of fate that makes such a writer as Godet speak through the following sentence: "No doubt the gravest [*sic*] German commentators find in this very saying an indisputable proof against [*sic*] the practice of infant baptism in the churches founded by Paul."

Edward Y. Hincks.

Η ΚΑΙΝΗ ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ. NOVUM TESTAMENTUM textus Stephanici A. D. 1550, cum variis lectionibus editionum Bezae, Elzeviri, Lachmanni, Tischendorfii, Tregellesii, Westcott-Hortii, versionis Anglicanae emendatorum, curante F. H. A. SCRIVENER, A. M., D. C. L., LL. D. Accedunt Parallela S. Scripturae loca. Cantabrigiae: Deighton, Bell et Soc. Londini: Whittaker et Soc.; G. Bell et Filii. M.DCCC.LXXXVII.

THIS new edition of Dr. Scrivener's manual will receive a hearty welcome. The various improved issues between the first (the Preface of which was dated September 29, 1859) and the present seem to have been prepared by correcting the original plates, or even by sawing off and resetting the foot-notes; but in the present edition the book has been reset from title to colophon, and is a beautiful specimen of the work of the Messrs. Clay of the Cambridge University Press.

In type and make-up it resembles its predecessors closely, and in the text care has been taken to make it correspond to them page for page and line for line. This has occasionally required a deviation from uniformity in the "leading," but the convenience thus gained is quite worth the sacrifice. It is a positive gain, too, that the numbering of the textual foot-notes begins anew with every new page. Along the interior margin of the pages (to which, at the cost of some delay in finding a passage, the verse and chapter numerals have been transferred) the new edition exhibits, in Greek notation, the larger and smaller sections given in the MSS., together with the Eusebian Canons, the table of which, preceded by the Epistle to Carpius, is subjoined to the Preface. The suggestion may be indulged, in passing, that the publishers utilize the blank space on page xvi. by giving there the numerical equivalents of the Greek characters, for the benefit of unpracticed and junior students.

The most striking change in the appearance of the volume is due to the fact that the outer margin of every page is now set thick with references to parallel Biblical passages. These references are very copious, particularly in the Epistles, and seem to have been selected with care. Of course, their selection discloses exegetical preferences; but they exhibit a wise comprehensiveness in this particular. Those given, for

instance, at τὸ πνεῦμα, John iii. 8, conform to the commonly accepted sense of "wind;" those at ἀνέθεν, verse 3, recognize the rival interpretations; while at xix. 36, in addition to the current references to the paschal lamb, reference is also made to Ps. xxxiv. 20. At ὁ γεννηθεὶς ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ, 1 John i. 18, reference is made to John i. 18 with a question mark; but at περὶ ἁμαρτίας, Rom. viii. 3, the references are restricted to the interpretation "as an offering for sin." These Biblical parallels will greatly facilitate and, it is to be hoped, promote the practice of comparing Scripture with Scripture, and thus rendering the Bible self-interpreting.

Two new texts are added to those the readings of which are given in the foot-notes: the text of Westcott and Hort, and that underlying the Revised English Testament of 1881. Accordingly, the volume professes to put before the eye of the student, in addition to the text of Stephens, the variations of seven other editions, represented each by the initial letter of its editor's name, namely, Beza, Elzevir, Lachmann, Tischendorf, Tregelles, Westcott and Hort, the Revisers. Respecting the last two texts, Dr. Scrivener in his Preface lets fall incidentally his opinion. The latter he characterizes as "perhaps too closely related to the principles of Westcott and Hort;" and of these last-named editors he says, that "while he would not detract from their accuracy, learning, industry, acuteness, these admirable qualities have not, in his judgment, availed 'to make the worse appear the better reason.'" Then, with an oblique allusion to the terms in which Bentley set forth his ambitious aspirations, he styles their publication "*splendidum peccatum, non κτήμα εἰς δόξιν!*"

One of the most noteworthy statements of Dr. Scrivener's Preface is in danger of escaping the reader's attention. It is that on page vi., in which he gives the dates of the folio editions of the Greek Text prepared by Beza. It is gratifying to find that Dr. Scrivener, after having withstood for years the reiterated and conclusive presentation of the facts in the case which was made by the late Professor Abbot and others,¹ is now disposed to acknowledge his error. The acknowledgment stirs sentiments towards him which no mere scholarship can command. In consideration of the wide currency which erroneous statements on this point have found, partly through the numerous preceding impressions of this book, and the extensive circulation of Dr. Scrivener's "Plain Introduction," etc., and other works, the correction might well have been made more explicitly. Instead of the date 1589, also, the twofold date of 1588 and 1589 would have been more exact, since some copies appear with the one date, some with the other. In the volume before us, Dr. Scrivener professes (page x.) to have given the readings of Beza's edition of 1565 and "sometimes" of the last, viz., 1598, — a statement the precise significance of which it would be interesting to search out. But the limited space remaining at our disposal must be given to a random testing of his statements respecting the readings of the modern editors.

It will be discovered — on comparing, for example, p. 8 note ⁴, p. 45¹⁵, p. 96², p. 97²⁸, p. 102²⁸, p. 103³⁰, p. 113¹⁶, p. 121²², p. 128²⁰, p. 153²¹, p. 180^{8, 12}, p. 204¹, p. 234⁵, with the corresponding foot-notes (or the absence of such) in the preceding impression of 1877 — that some of the oversights which had survived till that date have been rectified. But others have still escaped the editor's detection. For instance, p. 54 note ⁹ T should be changed to L; p. 75¹⁴ after L should be inserted (*non marg.*); p. 81²⁸

¹ See the *Critical Appendix* to vol. iii. of the *Andover Review*, p. 48 sqq.

Tr should be Tr *text.*; p. 109²⁸ to the authorities for *κατελύει* Tr should be added (see his "Addenda et Corrigenda"); p. 113²⁵ after L should be added (*non marg.*); p. 132¹⁹ the brackets about T should disappear; p. 136 at *πινακίδιον*, verse 63, add *πινακίδα* Tr. *marg.*; p. 159⁶ after *ἡ* insert (*— ἡ* Tr *marg.*); p. 166¹⁸ *ἀε* Tr; p. 223² is corrected in Tregelles's "Addenda et Corrigenda;" p. 253¹⁵ T should be dropped; p. 262¹⁰ Tr *marg.* should be inserted; p. 288⁴ *dele* Tr; p. 309¹⁷ insert Tr (*non marg.*); p. 318¹⁷ after Tr add (*non marg.*); p. 458⁴ insert L; p. 459¹⁴ after Tr insert [Tr *marg.*]; p. 461¹¹ insert L; p. 468¹⁴ insert Tr *marg.*; p. 568 at *αὐτῶν*, verse 11, add *αὐτῶν* Tr.

The readings of Westcott and Hort seem to be given in general with care; yet occasionally an oversight may be detected: for example, their omission of *τῇ* before *καρδίᾳ* in Matt. xxii. 37 is unnoticed (although the corresponding omission in the parallel, Mark xii. 30, is recorded); in Luke viii. 42 they read *αὐτῇ* for *αὐτῇ*; and note ² on p. 365 should run *κρίνει* WH *text.* R *marg.* Moreover, in adding a reading from WH, the relation of the earlier critical editors to that reading has sometimes passed unnoticed. For instance: p. 115 note ²², the editors' initials should run L T WH (*at*; — WH, — R *text.*) R *marg.*; p. 122² Tr should be inserted; so also should L p. 242⁵; L T p. 324 notes ¹⁷ and ²⁷; L p. 505¹, and again 506²; and L should have been allowed to remain before WH on p. 45¹⁵.

In the record made of new readings, many minor particulars, such as spelling and accent, have, properly enough, obtained recognition. But the record is neither so complete nor so accurate as to be satisfactory. We are told, for example (p. 18²⁰, 19⁹, etc.), that WH write "Ἰνα τί, Διὰ τί, (instead of Ἰνατί, Διατί); but so do Lachmann and Tregelles (except *Ἰνατί* Tr in Matt. xxvii. 46). We find *διὰ παντός*, without comment, in Matt. xviii. 10, but printed continuously and annotated p. 91¹²; so *τοῦτ' ἐστι* Matt. xxvii. 46, *τοῦτ' ἐστιν* Mark vii. 2; *τοῦτέστι* duly annotated p. 503¹. We are not told (pp. 245²², 247¹) that WH put an iota under the *ω* in *ἡνώξα*, nor that L T WH write *ψόν*. We are apprised that L WH write *ζῶον*, and that in Rev. iv. 6 *sqq.* Tr agrees with them; but so he does in Hebrews xiii. 11, which is unnoticed. We learn, p. 313²³, that WH drop the diæresis from *δυσχυρίζετο*, but so they do in Luke xxii. 59, and in both places L agrees with them, which facts are not mentioned. Further, he coincides with them in omitting the diæresis of *διωλίζοντες*, Matt. xxiii. 24, on which there is no note. The statements, pp. 16⁸, 139⁴, respecting the editors' use of the diæresis in *Μωυσῆς* are contradictory and erroneous, and are not set right on p. 105³ and ¹². The substitution of *ι* for *ει* in the penult of certain nouns is often registered; but not in the case of *ἐπιεικία* WH in Acts xxiv. 4, *κακοθία* WH in Rom. i. 29. On p. 158² the substitution by all the editors of *ο* for *ω* in *χρεωφειλέται* is noticed, but not the substitution of *ι* for *ει* in the same word by WH. The retention of the *ν* of the prepositions *ἐν* and *σύν* in certain compounds is specified, but not Tischendorf's *ἐνμένειν* in Acts xiv. 22, nor WH's *συνβιβάζων*, Acts ix. 22. Attention is paid to the use of the 2d aor. in *α*; but not to WH's *ἔπαιν*, Matt. xv. 34. Record is made of the observance or neglect of elision; but in John v. 44 no notice is taken of WH's *παρ' ἀλλήλων*. Once more, we are made acquainted with the editors' mode of accentuation; but we are not told of *Θαμάρ* Tr Matt. i. 3, *τρύβλιον* T WH Mark. xiv. 20, *συνίωσιν* WH Mark iv. 12, Luke viii. 10, etc., *ἐκατονταετής* L Tr WH Rom. iv. 19, *ἀποκεί* WH Jas. i. 15;

and the statements pp. 65¹, 161⁶, are erroneous, while in ὑμῖν ἐστίν, Luke xi. 41, *Tives*, Heb. iii. 16, the change of accent in the new edition involves error.

But turning from these minutiae, which are chiefly interesting to scholars, we shall detect remissness as respects the punctuation of the several editors in cases where their punctuation indicates their interpretation. On p. 62⁶ the obvious error of Tregelles is still faithfully recorded; but p. 79, WH's punctuation of Mark i. 1-4 is left unnoticed. So, too, are T's colon at the end of Mark xiv. 48, Luke xxii. 52; the question mark of L T Tr WH after the first νόμον (followed by a period or a colon after the second) in John vii. 19; the commas and dashes of WH in verse 22 of the same chapter. Note ¹⁹ on p. 330 should run ἐγώ· ἀπὸ WH (*non marg.*); but Dr. Scrivener has here changed the punctuation of his text into conformity with that of Beza of 1565 (even Erasmus of 1516), without recording the fact that L T Tr do not follow it. It is overlooked that, in Acts xxii. 3, L T Tr put the comma after ταύτη and omit it after Γαμαλιήλ; that T WH put a period at the end of Rom. ii. 27; that in Heb. i. 9 L T put a comma after σε and omit it after the following σον; that L puts a comma at the end of Heb. iii. 14; that L and T set a question mark after ἀμαρτήσασιν and a period after ἐρήμω in verse 17 of the same chapter. WH's period is rightly recorded p. 381¹⁷, but L T agree with them; moreover, all three editors punctuate verse 12 (cf. Luke xii. 24, 28, etc.) in the same way, of which fact no record is made. It is true that WH and R *marg.* omit the comma after ζῶ δέ in Gal. ii. 20; but L T Tr do likewise.

But the catalogue of the blemishes which are still to be found in this serviceable volume need not be extended. Those already pointed out are but specimens; gathered, as they have been, almost at haphazard, they are yet sufficiently numerous, sufficiently diverse, and drawn from sufficiently widely separated parts of the book to show that, with all its varied excellences, it cannot be implicitly trusted by scholars.

This is much to be regretted. Many are suffering to-day from over-reliance upon the supposed punctilious accuracy of former editions. Hardly is it an adequate vindication to say that these niceties belong to the "*nugae*" expressly absolved from accountability in the Preface (p. v. bottom, cf. p. viii. bottom). For to give information respecting such matters in one place while withholding it in another, or to state the facts but in part, is positively misleading.

Yet it should not be forgotten that the inaccuracies of which samples have been given do not constitute so grave an impeachment of editorial scholarship as a hasty judgment might infer. For the book is a growth; a growth of which some of the stages may be seen in the Prefaces of the editions of 1862, 1871, 1873, which were consolidated in 1876 into Section II. of the Preface as it stands in the present volume. Such a gradual process of correction and expansion must almost inevitably incur oversights and inconsistencies. None the less, however, will the grateful admirers of the veteran editor — and they are many in many lands — regret that this new edition was not prepared in the heroic method followed by the editor of the "Resultant Greek Testament," who says (in his Preface p. v.): "I have most carefully read the proofs, as the work passed through the press, not with the 'copy' sent to the printers, but with the printed editions themselves, the readings of which are here given." Had some such method been followed, Dr. Scrivener would have given us

here a veritable *καμήλιον*, for which a long succession of scholars would bless him.

But we would not seem — either for the book's sake or the reader's — to have lost the sense of proportion. However disappointing such minute and lingering imperfections as those pointed out render the work for the uses of the scholar, for the general reader it is unquestionably the most comprehensive, compact, and convenient edition of the Greek Testament in the market.

J. H. Thayer.

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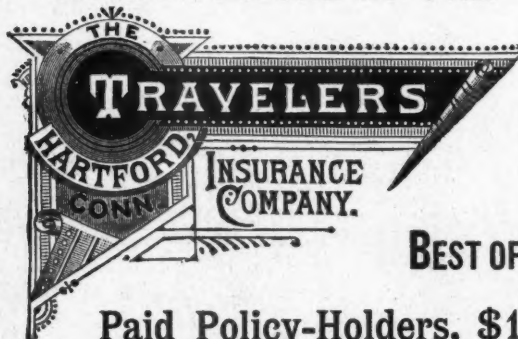
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